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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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6 May 1985

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA VIEWS SOVIET-POLISH ALLIED TIES

PM170910 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Apr 85 Second Edition p 2

[Article by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA own observer A. Golts under the rubric "Testimony of History: Documents, Facts, Commentaries": "Alliance Born of Battle"--First four paragraphs are excerpts from historical documents]

[Text] "The numerous rallies being held all over Poland have merged into a nationwide movement for the conclusion of a Polish-Soviet treaty of friendship, mutual assistance, and postwar cooperation... The resolutions being adopted put forward the persistent demand that the government fulfill the people's will and set up friendly Polish-Soviet relations by treaty."  
KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, 19 April 1945.

"The significance of the treaty lies first and foremost in the fact that it marks a fundamental turnaround in relations between the Soviet Union and Poland in favor of the alliance and friendship which were formed during the present liberation struggle against Germany and are now being formally reinforced in this treaty." From the speech by I.V. Stalin, chairman of the USSR Soviet of People's Commissars, 21 April 1945.

"The Polish people, having experienced the hell of German occupation, have suffered terrible casualties in this war, but on the other hand have felt and constantly feel manifestations of friendship and aid from the great Soviet people and will accept the treaty as a great political achievement, as a guarantee of permanent peace and security, and as a guarantee of their freedom and independence." From the speech by E. Osobka-Morawski, prime minister of the provisional Polish Government, 21 April 1945.

"The foundation of our foreign and defense policy is the indissoluble alliance and fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union. Its importance for our people has been reaffirmed by history and the present day." From the speech by W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, 21 July 1984.

Battles were still raging and the men of the Red Army and Polish soldiers were still marching into their just and sacred battle. And a mass movement for the conclusion of a treaty on friendship and mutual aid with the Soviet Union was launched at this time in Poland. The Polish people thought it vitally necessary to immediately reinforce this fraternal alliance which had grown up during the years of joint struggle against the fascist invaders. This alliance was forged in the field near Lenino, where units of the T. Kosciuszko 1st Polish Infantry Division had their baptism of fire. The alliance grew stronger in the fierce battles to liberate Poland. It was also embodied in the considerable material aid which the Soviet Union gave the war-torn country from the very first days of liberation.

The people remembered the lessons of history, remembered how bourgeois Poland was a pawn in the imperialist powers' selfish and dirty political game, and remembered how the country had been betrayed and sold out. That is why it was quite obvious to Polish working people in 1945 that only an alliance with the USSR could guarantee security, independence, and sovereignty.

And the people's will was fulfilled. The Soviet-Polish Treaty on friendship, mutual assistance, and postwar cooperation was signed 21 April 1945. Today, 4 decades on, it was quite clear that the treaty created favorable conditions for the establishment of Poland's just borders and the recuperation of its original lands in the West. That is why the 1965 Soviet-Polish treaty, which embodied the goals and principles of the 1945 treaty, stresses in particular that the inviolability of Poland's borders along the Oder and the Neisse has been one of the main factors in all-European security.

The Soviet-Polish treaty has made a significant contribution to ensuring peace in postwar Europe. An important place in it is occupied by mutual pledges to struggle against the threat of aggression from Germany and any countries in alliance with it and also the pledge to come to each other's assistance in the event of such aggression taking place.

The Soviet-Polish treaty is the guarantee of the Polish people's peaceful labor. But today the storm clouds of military danger are again hanging over Europe. U.S. nuclear missiles sited in the FRG are targeted on the Soviet Union, Poland, and the other socialist countries. The West German Bundeswehr is building up its forces. And the revanchists are increasingly vocal in their brazen demands that the map of Europe be recarved and Polish and other lands be "returned." The cohesion of all the socialist states and their united will are one of the most important factors making it possible to stop the implementation of the adventurist policy of Washington and its allies. And the existence of the Soviet-Polish treaty is an important element in the system of agreements between the socialist states ensuring an effective response to any aggression.

This treaty has one further very important aspect. The forces of imperialism and reaction have to this day still not abandoned their attempts to turn Poland away from the path of socialism. The last such attempt occurred

at the start of the 80's when the West conducted a large-scale offensive against Poland. No means were spared: psychological warfare, ideological subversion, economic sanctions--all were employed. But once again the plans to undermine the socialist system in Poland were wrecked. As Comrade W. Jaruzelski has stressed, Poland would have found it hard to stand alone against the imperialist pressure, were it not for the fraternal aid from the USSR and the other socialist countries.

Soviet-Polish cooperation is developing and growing stronger in all spheres of life. Last May the "Long-Term Program for the Development of Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation Between the USSR and Poland for the Period Through the Year 2000" was signed. Analyzing the path already traveled and looking to the future, one can say with confidence that a historic step of immense importance was taken 4 decades ago.

CSO: 1800/247



CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## HAJN STRESSES ROLE OF PARTY IN SOCIETY, PRODUCTION

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Mar 85 p 3

[Article by Jaroslav Hajn, chairman of the CPCZ Central Control and Audit Commission: "In Unity of the Party and the People"]

[Excerpts] The rising role of the party as the decisionmaking body guiding the socialist society and its close ties to the working class are among the decisive realities of the era in which we live.

The political screening, designed to contribute to an even more thorough application of the resolutions of the 16th Party Congress to the life of society by means of a firm union of the party and the people, deepened our understanding and contributed to a greater adoption of such methods and forms of work that are apt to strengthen this union. After a complex and multifaceted examination of the results of the screening, the party's Central Control and Audit Commission reached a conclusion about the extent to which the party succeeded in implementing the resolutions of the 16th Congress and of the individual sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee. The commission also determined how many productive ideas were carried out and incorporated into political management and ideological and educational activity of the basic party organizations. We are convinced that in spite of all the troubles and difficulties that life brings and that communists must struggle with daily, the party is coping successfully with the complicated process of building a developed socialist society, and that it is equal to its tasks.

I would like to add that the party consistently asserts the principle that nobody can receive from society more than he or she is giving to it through his or her work. Such is socialist ethics. Egalitarianism in rewarding unequal work has nothing in common with equality and justice in socialism. Such egalitarianism leads only to treating a slob and a conscientious worker the same way. Some individuals are either mistaken about the concept of remuneration or are confusing and twisting things. They like to insist that they have to earn so many korunas instead of saying: "I have to do this much work of such a quality in order to earn as much as I want and need." They approach these questions in a simplistic way or, as the popular saying goes, "starting from the back."



They do not like to hear that the socialist concept of equality actually includes and presupposes inequality of income. After all, people do work of varied social importance and complexity. They also have diverse abilities, different levels of work ethics and civic morals and discipline. Therefore they cannot receive the same pay. We also must not forget that in the development of our productivity as well as in our thinking we are still at the beginning of the era of building developed socialism. Neither do we govern ourselves by the brutal, cruel principles of bourgeois morality which proclaim: "Every man for himself, only God for all." We take for granted the socialist principle: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his merit," and we have to implement it in practice far more courageously than we have done thus far.

It is clear that by the entire system and practical management, by their motivation and influence on their fellow citizens, communists must react ever more effectively to new phenomena in economics and economic practices, to developments in international integration, to the ever faster progress in scientific and technical knowledge. We must always recognize in time the changing interests and needs of the foreign market and of our business partners--to anticipate them to a certain extent--naturally while safeguarding thoroughly and in every possible way the interests and needs of our socialist society.

He who wants to get more must give more and add more, otherwise we will not progress, not even in society. Little interest in or indifference to basic qualitative changes in production and the management thereof only encourages prolonged tendencies toward stereotypes and technocratic routine. Some leading economists in our industrial and agricultural enterprises are unfortunately pretty close to disregarding and scorning the social side of the development of work forces.

Lack of discipline, self-satisfaction, disrespect for suggestions of working people not only hinder the fulfillment of the economic and social program of the party but also subject to severe tests the stability of the alliance of the party and the people. Those who do not fulfil their responsibilities to society are like cheaters on public transportation vehicles. They board the departing vehicle without qualms, take advantage of its services, but do not pay for the ride. They take the rights provided by the socialist society as something quite natural. But they clearly push into the background the idea that they are also responsible for contributing to the common good by their own honest work.

On the basis of the results of the political screening we therefore emphasize the necessity of consistent realization of party resolutions. At the same time, we highlight the need for purposeful and systematic control of their implementation. This should pervade all activity--both of the party agencies as well as of the basic organizations. It is too late to cry over spilled milk when during a whole year no time has been found for an analysis of the causes of uncovered deficiencies. Where the control is--permit me the expression--only some kind of a "tolerated" secondary activity one cannot count on solid results and well-meant permanent successes.

Our fellow citizens are carefully watching to see if our words coincide with our deeds, if we are not saying one thing and doing another. They are interested to see how communists--they above all--are tackling the implementation of the resolutions of the congress and of the Central Committee of the party. With no little attention they are also observing how party organizations are treating those who--figuratively speaking--are preaching water and drinking wine. They watch who is by-passing, overlooking, sometimes even debasing, by inactivity, disinterest, defiance of the law, or misuse of office, the binding norms of party life. It is imperative to ask such comrades in party organizations pointblank why they are acting that way and who has given them the right to do so, who has empowered them to treat the resolutions of the party and the laws of a socialist state that way, for whose benefit they want to exploit the trust that people have in the party and its spotless record. No one has the right to "look pretty" on account of the party, of socialism. For such behavior the party does not have, and will never have, any sympathy.

Such is life; besides useful, good and pleasant things it also brings difficulties and various privations. We are realists, and we know that life without problems does not exist. Sometimes we have to slow down in order to gain strength and be able to march on even more energetically. It can even happen to us that our individual demands will exceed society's ability to satisfy them. In such situations we have to explain to people patiently and competently why we have chosen this solution and not another, why even at the price of a certain modesty and perhaps even short-term disadvantage we are choosing this and not another kind of solution. At such times we must also be able to state the reasons why--figuratively speaking--we have made only one step forward and not two. If people are to understand us correctly they must know where the limits of our possibilities are, where and under what conditions it will be possible to make means available for further progress. We have to keep in mind all these and other circumstances when we wage a struggle to fulfil this year's tasks, which have been complicated in many instances by the whims of this year's winter.

Deliberations at membership and public meetings of the basic party organizations have become inseparable parts of a vigorous entry into the last year of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. A total of 1.5 million communists in more than 47,000 basic organizations of the CPCZ held open and factual consultations with the broadest strata of workers, co-op members, and intelligentsia concerning a common course which would insure that the goals of the economic policy of the party would be fulfilled. This extremely valuable experience permitting masses to be direct participants in the shaping of party policy deeply influenced the awareness of people. This can best be seen in their dealing with the elimination of the January and February production losses or in the desire to secure by all means the economic policy of the party.

In the course of the deliberations of the party organizations the results attained in 1984 were compared with current opportunities, abilities and strengths of work collectives and individuals. Though the over-all balance was, and in the first quarter of this year is, positive, the causes of

weaknesses and shortcomings which slow down and handicap the development of society were quite legitimately also discussed during the deliberations. The communists' main attention was focused on the area of the large and small, hidden, or sometimes on the contrary quite easily attainable reserves in production and its management. A thorough analysis of the attained goals and concrete, matter-of-fact resolutions are viewed now by everyone as springboards for the fulfillment of this year's plan and for preparatory work for the Eighth 5-Year Plan. It is significant that in relation to this plan, people place high demands on good management and organization by the political and economic leadership of enterprises, on the party membership's unity and capacity for action, on every citizen's vocational and political activity.

The collective wisdom and experience of people, led by the party, are expressed in practice by millions. They are an accurate reflection of the quality of the relationship of the party and other working people. They mirror the stabilized economic and political situation, thanks to which socialist Czechoslovakia is a politically stable and socially consolidated state which is moving upward in social, economic, cultural, and other areas. This is by far nothing to be simply taken for granted in today's world, which is full of unrest and upheavals provoked by the aggressive forces of imperialism led by the United States, and by the revanchist aspirations of some circles among our neighbors in the Federal Republic of Germany.

It is obvious that the broader, fuller and deeper the people's participation in the shaping and implementation of the party policy is, the more dependable, continual and far-reaching is our general development. At a time when we are taking measures for the transition of our national economy to a more rapid intensive development, it is imperative that everyone have an occasion and an opportunity to put his or her maximal energies and abilities in the service of society. The point is that the citizens' initiative should not be oriented solely toward the results and indicators measured purely by volume. Economics mercilessly demands above all precise work rhythm, prompt fulfillment of contract obligations within the framework of supply-and-demand relationships, introduction and mastering of new technology, economical utilization of every minute of working time, of every kilogram of raw material and other commodities, of every koruna invested in production.

This concept of relationship to the interests and needs of the whole society cannot be enforced easily and effortlessly. In enforcing it, it is sometimes necessary to engage in a struggle with one's own self, not to be alarmed by difficulties, not to be discouraged by temporary setbacks. Every individual every work collective must seek and find answers to these and other questions. Under no circumstances may those who shuffle their feet on the same spot waiting to see how things will turn out hide behind the successes of those who are marching in the front rows. Comrade Gorbachev rightly reminds us: "...judge people according to their deeds and not according to their words, judge work according to results and not according to measures taken."

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SFRY PRESS SCORED FOR JOINING WESTERN CHARGES

AU091947 [Editorial Report] Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No. 12 of 20 March; No. 13 of 27 March; and No. 14 of 3 April, on page 3 in each instance, carries in three installments an 8,000-word article by Frantisek Kudrna entitled "Why Do They Distort the Causes, Course, and Outcome of World War II?" The article takes issue, one by one, with the following "claims of Western propagandists"--that World War II was triggered by Moscow's pact with Berlin; that fascist Germany and the USSR were equally responsible for the war; that, from its founding, the USSR has been an "aggressive state in search of world rule"; that the Soviet Union would have been unable to wage its war without arms supplies from the United States; that Soviet troops were victorious only because of the Nazis' serious military blunders and the aid of climatic and geographic factors; and that the major and crucial battles of World War II, with the sole exception of Stalingrad, were fought on the western front. Kudrna uses statistical data, analyses of wartime documents, works of Western historians, as well as statements by Roosevelt, Churchill, and Nazi officials (about the aims of the war and the decisive role of the USSR in it) to disprove these claims.

Referring to the East-West controversy about the contribution of individual members of the anti-Hitler coalition to the defeat of Nazi Germany, Kudrna notes that "at many places in the West, but also elsewhere (for example, in a part of the Yugoslav press), we can read that, supposedly, the socialist countries falsify history by ascribing the decisive role to the Soviet Union." Kudrna responds to this charge by quoting the British historian A.J.P. Taylor (using his book "The Second World War" as a source) that the Russians had to face 75 percent of all German troops and that, moreover, the German divisions operating on the western front were "second-rate."

Kudrna's article also defends as "correct" the Soviet signing of a nonaggression pact with Germany in 1939, saying that it gave the Soviet Union time to strengthen its defense and "prevented the formation of a united anti-Soviet front" made up by France, Great Britain, and Germany.

CSO: 2400/354

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CTK ISSUES CORRECTION TO GORBACHEV INTERVIEW

AU121140 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 10 April on page 7 carries a 50-word CTK "apology" for a "mistake in the translation of Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev's answers to questions of the newspaper PRAVDA which appeared in RUDE PRAVO, and other Czechoslovak newspapers, on 9 April. It notes that the last paragraph of the second Gorbachev answer should correctly read: "Confrontation is not an inborn defect of our relations." In the original translation, which RUDE PRAVO published on 9 April on page 1, the newspaper omitted the word "not" in the sentence (see referent item).

CSO: 2400/354

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

**MEETING WITH CANADIAN DEPUTIES**--The Canadian deputies currently visiting Czechoslovakia had a meeting this afternoon with Zdenek Ceska, Charles University chancellor, who briefed them on the rich history of this university. He presented to John Bosley, Canadian parliamentary speaker, a peace medal of the university. Alois Indra, chairman of the Federal Assembly, gave a festive dinner in Prague today in honor of the Canadian parliamentary delegation headed by its speaker, John Bosley. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 9 Apr 85]

**DEATH OF METHODIUS REMEMBERED**--Approximately 1,000 Roman Catholic Church clergy headed by bishops and ordinaries of all Czechoslovak diocese today, at Velehrad, in the Uherske Hradiste district, recalled the 1,100th anniversary of the death of Methodius. Present were the chairman of the Czech body of ordinaries Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, chairman of the Slovak body of ordinaries Bishop Jozef Feranec, Bishop Josef Vrana, the apostolic administrator of the Olomouc Archdiocese, and other representatives of the Catholic Church. An apostolic letter by Pope John Paul II to all Czechoslovak clergy on the 1,100th anniversary of the death of Methodius was read out during the celebratory service, the main celebrant of which was Cardinal Tomasek, together with ordinaries of the Czechoslovak Catholic Church. The letter recalled Methodius' life and work which helped strengthen Greater Moravia and was instrumental in introducing the Slavonic Liturgy, which, as one of the elements of a multifaceted Slavonic culture, laid the foundations of Czechoslovak cultural history. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 10 Apr 85]

CSO: 2400/354



GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CITIZENS' CLAIMS ON, INVOLVEMENT IN CIVIL RIGHTS OUTLINED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 40 No 2, Feb 85 (signed to press 14 Jan 85)  
pp 156-162

[Article by Prof Dr Eberhard Poppe, of the political science and jurisprudence section of the Martin Luther University at Halle and Wittenberg: "Human Rights--Safeguarded Social Facts in Our Country"]

[Text] The realization of human rights occupies a prominent spot on the balance-sheet for the 35th anniversary of the GDR. That is demonstrated by facts that are unarguable even to notorious enemies of the socialist German workers and farmers state: The right to work has been realized all-around. Full employment guarantees to the citizens that they can secure and shape their social existence through their own work. The right to education provides the ten-grade poly-technical secondary school education for all children, and every youth has a claim to vocational training and a training job. Through the purposeful implementation of the housing construction program, housing conditions have perceptibly improved for 6 million citizens since 1971. Health prevention and care, therapy and cures are free for all citizens. Unemployment and homelessness, usury in rentals, a fear of a crisis, social decline and poverty are alien to GDR citizens. They live in social comfort and social security. The right to the free expression of opinion and to taking part in government and development is exercised in million ways every day, in the enterprise and in the town and the community, in the work collective as in meetings and social organizations. These of course are rights for a people that exercises political power and shapes society the way it wants to. Through this conscious exercise of power in their own interest, the political, economic and military consolidation of their fatherland, the GDR citizens are making an important contribution to safeguarding peace in Europe and are working and fighting for the inviolability of their human right to life and peace. All this proves that freedom and human rights are guaranteed in the GDR.<sup>1</sup> These are "guaranteed social matters of fact most of which cannot be realized under capitalist conditions."<sup>2</sup>

Political Contra Socioeconomic Rights?

Apologists for the imperialist system of government like to get their mileage out of the cliché that socialism might possibly have realized certain socioeconomic and cultural rights, yet their own bourgeois society was holding high the "actual human rights," the political and personal freedoms of the individual.

To put the proper light on this presumed capitalist "advantage," they even contend: "The political human rights have priority, in principle, over the socioeconomic ones."<sup>3</sup> Not astonishing that socioeconomic rights are a thorn in the side of the monopoly bourgeoisie and the advocates of its ideological interests because, after all, they--we may refer, e.g., to the right to work--contradict the right to the private ownership of the means of production, sanctified in bourgeois constitutions, and the right, based on that, of the few to exploit the majority of the people and to give themselves carte blanche as it suits their profit interests in their enterprises without regard for the concerns of the working people. Typical of it is the following allergic reaction. After the demand was raised in the DGB program of 1982 to include the rights to work, housing, education, health and continuing education in the FRG Constitution, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE on 10 July 1982 turned that down by saying: "There is the danger the realization of the demand to write certain 'social rights' into the Basic Law, i.e. to make them subject to civil suits, might destroy further domains in which the unfolding of the individual is free to range."<sup>4</sup>

It is quite obvious who would be threatened by that, whose domains for the unfolding of individual freedom would be touched by that. Capitalist interests always are what wields the pen here and dictates the focus. Specifically that means: Ensuring the free action capability of capital comes before human rights. Wholly in this sense are socioeconomic rights being gerrymandered in bourgeois constitutions. What does it profit the unemployed in the FRG today--one might ask--that according to the Basic Law of his state (Article 12) he is, to be sure, granted the right "freely choose his trade, place of work and place of training" but can make no use of this freedom because his right to work is obstructed? The already more than 4 million unemployed and part-timers in the FRG, hundreds of thousands of young people among them, have found out by now about the class character of such a freedom right; it is the right of the "entrepreneurs" freely to choose among the "surplus" of "employees" and turn down, or hold at a minimum, the working people's wage demands and social benefits.

Precisely this class content of bourgeois human rights conceptions is involved when socioeconomic rights are disparaged as being worth less by bourgeois ideologues. It underscores once again that the substance, scope and realization of human rights--as of any right--are determined by class interests. The haute bourgeoisie not only regards the right to work, to decent housing conditions and to extensive health protection as superfluous, they are interference factors that might cut into the profits. To the workers class and most of the working people in capitalism, however, such rights form an important condition for opposing the constant threat against their social existence by legal means. That conforms to their ideas of right and freedom. You may twist and turn it as you wish, being exploited and being free does not match. The one precludes the other.

Lest we be misunderstood: If we oppose the value theories of bourgeois human rights apostles, we are not doing so to in an attempt to somehow place economic or cultural over political rights. What matters to us Marxist-Leninists, rather, is the implementation of all the interconnected human rights in social reality. Valid also in the point of human rights is the "simple" truth Marx discovered "that men first have to eat, drink, live somewhere and

put clothes on, have to work in other words, before they can dispute about the government and engage in politics, religion, philosophy and so forth."<sup>5</sup> Unless the rights to work, housing, education, health and so forth are ensured, many of the political rights written into the bourgeois constitutions as well as personal freedom rights for the working people remain a farce, leaving aside altogether the protection of the dignity of personality. Men without work are threatened in their social existence and feel inferior and superfluous. And there are not a few who must worry about their jobs in view of capitalist rationalization and who have found out that those who object to the sharper capitalist exploitative methods are the first to get fired, so they are politically intimidated as well.

So let us return once more to the contention cited above that capitalism gave preference to political human rights over all others. If we take the contents of that theory seriously and look at reality, it becomes evident: In the region under their rule a considerable deficit exists for the implementation of political human rights. What about the preference and purported advantage of the capitalist state in the FRG, where politically despised FRG citizens, such as DKP members, can at any moment fall prey to capricious job restrictions, where demonstrators for peace and against the U.S. missile deployment are subjected to police chicaneries and criminal prosecution, where instead of plebiscites, the public debating of laws and the everyday participation in running the government and the economy, no other right is left but that of taking part in elections every few years, to provide even such candidates with the semblance of democratic legitimacy who are kept flushed by Flick and his cohorts?

To speak of a pre-eminence, a preference given to political human rights, while a millionfold protest against Pershings and cruise missiles, and hence the freedom of opinion, demonstration, conscience and belief is massively being despised and intimidated, resembles an ideological salto mortale. It serves to distract from the political ills of the imperialist system, from the ongoing subversion even of the political rights that are constitutionally spelled out. What a state's human rights policy comes down to is seen by how it deals with the unity of all human rights, if it regulates and assures for its citizens, in a complex way, political, personal, socioeconomic and cultural rights. That is the crucial question because, after all, the meaning and purpose of human rights is to serve the unfolding and protection of human personality, the development of individuality. Unless a state can guarantee to its citizens their socioeconomic, political, personal, and cultural rights, and thus real chances in all essential domains of life to fashion a truly free existence in society, it cannot make the claim to be a home for human rights.

The socialist states espouse the unity and variety of human rights. Mainly thanks to their initiative, the United Nations set down in a 1977 resolution:

- "(a) All human rights and basic freedoms are indivisible and relate to one another; identical attention and urgent consideration ought to be given to the realization, promotion and protection of the civic and political rights as well as of the economic, social and cultural rights;
- (b) the full realization of civic and political rights is impossible without the exercise of economic, social and cultural rights."<sup>6</sup>

Divested of the halo imperialist ideologues and politicians are wont to give to capitalist society, and in gaging its general freedom slogans against capitalist reality, striking contradictions come to the fore. Limited and infringed political and personal liberties and socioeconomic human rights denied--that is the true balance-sheet of today's imperialist system. The human rights deficit that exists in this system, the political and material assistance given to regimes and practices that are notoriously hostile to human rights, as in Chile and South Africa, deprive the representatives of imperialist states of all moral legitimacy in wishing to counsel, or even control, others in the human rights issue. Politicians who conceive, as against the socialist states, a nuclear first and decapitation strike and the militarization of space, threaten the destruction of humanity, in other words, are incompetent in human rights issues and as "judges" about them.

#### Codetermination and Coshaping--A Basic Right Comprehensive in Character

Tantamount to the right to full employment, education and freedom of opinion, GDR citizens enjoy the basic right "to participate fully in shaping the political, economic, social and cultural life of the socialist community and the socialist state" (Article 21 of the Constitution)--its most cogent definition being that of a basic right to socialist democracy.

Socialism was created in the GDR in exercise of the right to self-determination any people is entitled to. The exercise of this right was not confined to a one-time revolutionary act, nor is it confined the election of state power organs. It is the people's right to shaping its social and political life freely and democratically, in perpetuity. The basic right to codetermination and coshaping is the individualized expression of the collective people's right to self-determination. It offers each citizen, as a member of the sovereign people, the basic legal claim to realizing the socialist democracy and explicitly orients him to a deliberate democratic initiative and activity since that is indispensable for socialism and also serves the individual in his self-realization.

It is a balance-sheet and orientation at one and the same time for the party program to assert: "The citizens' participation, in various forms, in state and economic management increasingly becomes the decisive mark of life in socialism."<sup>7</sup> That 85 percent of all working people took part in the 1985 economic plan conferences and submitted over 640,000 proposals on how available reserves may be used for performance and efficiency improvements are facts that exemplify the civic right to socialist democracy as guaranteed and realized in the GDR. For the same good reason one may refer, e.g., to the activities by more than 610,000 citizens on the parents' advisory councils in our schools, of 266,000 on the commissions, inspectorate commissions and the committees of the Workers and Farmers Inspectorate, or the participation of millions of citizens in debating basic draft laws, such as the Labor Code, the Civil Code, the Family Code, the Youth Law and the LPG Law. The GDR citizens have in the truest sense of the word helped write their basic rights: In the large people's debate in 1968 on the draft of the Constitution 12,454 proposals were made for the final version.

Examples alone cannot give a full account of the application of the basic right to codetermination and coshaping as it embraces all societal sectors. It is a basic right accessible to any citizen who derives from the character of our state his personal responsibility to make use of the chances offered him for democratic involvement on the various social levels.

Such active recourse to it by the citizens is a developmental condition of socialism which grows in weight while it matures. The key points in the realization of this basic right and the areas and forms in which it functions are marked by the dynamics of socialism and its developmental requirements. New fields and chances for its functioning were tapped by the economic strategy the 10th party congress issued for the working people's deliberate participation in intensification processes, in intra and inner-enterprise and territorial rationalization, and the innovator movement became a focal point for the exercise of basic rights in the economic field. Our state's environmental policy, which serves the preservation and protection of nature, has brought it about that, e.g., tens of thousands of citizens in the "Society for Nature and for the Environment" of the GDR Culture League perform extensive volunteer work to form a socialist environmental consciousness, protect nature and create better environmental conditions.

The right to codetermination and coshaping does not work apart from other basic rights. Inseparable interaction exists among them, rather. That is obvious for the right to work, which in socialist understanding means more than just a right to a job. In clear contrast to the bourgeois, socialist democracy is socially all-inclusive. Monopoly capital permits the working people to take part in occasional and largely manipulated elections; they may practice democracy only in forms and areas that leave private property untouched. Socialist democracy is effective also in the working life of all working people, it is a codetermination in the economy, in the enterprise, and in the cooperative. While deliberating on and ratifying enterprise plans, debating and deciding on brigade production plans, in the fields of master workmen, in the enterprise department, and in the steady supervision over plan fulfilment the rights to work and to codetermination fuse together.

Inseparably connected are the codetermination and exercising the right to a free expression of opinion. After all, joining in the consultation and the decisionmaking for social and enterprise projects always presupposes that an individual will form an opinion on it, express his ideas in the discussion, and frankly comment on the thoughts of others. All that again asks for expertise and knowledge; that can all be exercised more effectively if an individual also makes use in every way of his right to education. Thus the exercise of the right to education for decisionmaking on social and personal problems, for making judgments and for a genuinely free expression of opinion is equally essential for using the right to codetermination and coshaping, e.g. in the form of reasonable recommendations, suggestions or even criticism in the enterprise or residential area, or through expert participation on parents' advisory councils or a conflicts or arbitration commission.

Every citizen can in fact individually realize his right to socialist democracy and other basic rights because that is also immediately guaranteed by collective accomplishments. That applies, e.g., to many legally guaranteed

forms for getting excused to exercise volunteer functions within the scope of the participatory right, for training and continuing education or for taking care of infants while wage payments continue. The willingness by work collectives to compensate for work shortfalls arising from that is a guarantee worth mentioning that stands behind the realization of individual basic rights.

Other rights as well, like the respect for personal freedom and dignity, the inviolability of living space, and the freedom of conscience and belief, also are essentially secured by being communally respected and by understanding one's own civic rights also as the rights of fellow-citizens. The decisive premise for the individual's perceiving his co-shaping right, his freedom of opinion and assembly, his right to the protection of his health and so forth as really secure is, of course, that he personally exercises these rights.

As guideline for action and conduct, the basic right to democracy also acts as an important impulse--as do all basic rights. Developing that, in terms of our social objectives, imposes a high responsibility on the managers. Creative participation is encouraged when citizens are in good time informed extensively about communal and enterprise projects, when planning tasks are thoroughly explained, and when rationalization measures are prudently clarified. Among the duties of managers in state organs, combines, or cooperatives is to ensure optimum conditions for the implementation of socialist basic rights in their areas of responsibility. They have to see to it that a citizen can discuss his problems, that his suggestions are listened to, that his questions are answered. Every manager should always be aware of this: This ultimately involves the citizen's trust in our state and the absolute validity of his human rights.

#### An Overall Social Task

In contrast to capitalism, where the individual often is forced to enforce his rights against the state though they are granted him by the Constitution, among us the implementation of human rights is both a personal and state concern. Socialist state power is exercised by the people; there are identical interests as between the state and the working people. With the private ownership in the means of production the exploiter classes also disappeared which would pit state power against the working people and the realization of the human rights. Through creating socialism, the realization of human rights could for the first time in human history become an overall social task that can be and is fulfilled by all social forces on behalf of their own benefit. Our socialist reality provides the evidence for it a thousand times.

At securing that which is most important, the right each citizen has to a life in peace and the protection of peace, the socialist fatherland and its accomplishments (Article 23 of the Constitution) all efforts of the socialist state and its armed forces are directed. That is served by the vast peace movement in our country against the NATO arms buildup and the U.S. plans to militarize space. That is supported by millions of working people with their efforts at economically consolidating socialism, through actively and consciously educating children and youths in school for peace, and in the pioneer organization and the youth association. Not last because socialism offers all



sociopolitical forces the chance to give expression to their will to peace in word and deed, peace could be made secure in Europe for 40 years and there is a justified optimism that the human right to living in peace can also be ensured for the future.

Like the peace policy, also the economic and social policy serves the consistent realization of the elemental human rights. In spite of the increased burdens the aggressive imperialist policy imposes, our party abides by its main task course, aimed at the well-being of the people, and resolutely focuses on fulfilling the housing construction program as the centerpiece of its comprehensive sociopolitical program. The joint efforts in state and cooperative housing construction and the volunteer efforts by hundreds of thousands of citizens in the "Join-in!" movement of the National Front for the preservation and repair of apartments and for beautifying towns and communities are aimed at the comprehensive implementation of the human right to living space. Analogies could be drawn with the implementation of other human rights.

The "secret" of the successful socialist human rights implementation lies in that man's well-being, the securing of his rights, is an overall social task, fulfilled through the joint efforts of all social forces. In this sense, socialism also acknowledges the unity of human rights and duties. The socialist state can use for the good of the citizens only what was first jointly produced. The result is all the greater, the more understanding and willing each citizen is to take part with his whole strength and capability in the communal project of socialism, to augment and preserve what has been created. To the implementation of the human rights in the GDR there applies this statement: "We energetically defend the ideals and values of socialism--the equality of men, the solidarity in their relations, social security and trust in the future, personal integrity and the regard for the dignity of each citizen--and we seek to extend them constructively."<sup>8</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" [SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 116.
2. Kurt Hager, "Gesetzmaessigkeiten unserer Epoche--Triebkraefte und Werte des Sozialismus" [Inevitabilities of Our Epoch--Driving Forces and Values of Socialism], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1983, p 37.
3. Otto Luchterhand, "Political and Social Human Rights, the Democratic Constitutional State and International Law under the East-West Antagonism," "Menschenrechte und Demokratie" [Human Rights and Democracy], Kehl am Rhein, Strassburg, 1981, p 69.
4. FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 10 July 1982, p 13.
5. Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx, "Werke" [Works], Vol 19, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 103.

6. "Alternative Possibilities, Ways and Means within the United Nations System for Improving the Effective Exercise of Human Rights and Basic Liberties," "DDR-Komitee fuer Menschenrechte, Schriften und Informationen," No 1, 1978, pp 52-53.
7. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 41.
8. Kurt Hager, op. cit., p 54.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SUMMARIES OF MAJOR EINHEIT ARTICLES, FEBRUARY 1985

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 40 No 2, Feb 85 (signed to press 14 Jan 85)  
pp 97, 192

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Helmut Koziolk, SED Central Committee member, director of the Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management of the SED Central Committee, chairman of the Council for Economic Science Research, member of the GDR Academy of Sciences and member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 129-135. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] Use Value Increase and Enhanced Value Through Higher Refining

Higher refinement gives prominence in a concentrated form to all the matters of economic growth through improving the productivity, efficiency and quality of labor on the basis of scientific and technological progress. Higher refining creates products of higher use value, enhances the new value substance through the use of skilled labor, and opens new opportunities for reducing the input of live and embodied labor.

[Summary of article by Gerhard Tautenhahn, SED Central Committee member and SED Central Committee department head for machine construction; pp 136-142. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Production Increases Through Automation Envisioned," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] Microelectronics as a Catalyst for Scientific-Technological Progress

As a crucial connecting link in introducing modern technologies and enhanced production refinement, great demands throughout our entire economy are placed on microelectronics. Most important is a speed-up in the development and a greater output of microelectronic components and the use of microelectronics in each combine. To utilize the high economic effects made possible thereby, greater importance attaches especially to operating CAD/CAM systems and flexibly automated production plants low in service requirements.

[Summary of article by Dr Herbert Richter, SED Central Committee member, general director of the VEB Schwarze Pumpe Gas Combine; pp 143-148. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Greater Use of Prime Energy Source Anticipated," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] Higher Refinement of Lignite--One Base Line of Our Economic Strategy

Under the aspect of our need for higher refinement, it has become a task of the first order to use our domestic lignite more still and still more economically as energy source and raw material. How can more use of it be made still in the chemical industry? Ways on which new steps are taken by the working people in the Schwarze Pumpe Gas Combine collaborating with science institutions and partners in industry, making use of the advantages offered by the international cooperation in CEMA.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Martin Kelm, state secretary and head of the industrial design bureau; pp 149-151]

[Text] Fine Design and Its Effect

Manufacturing efficiently and through modern technologies new products that meet the grown customer demands also is always a challenge to their design. What are the design demands today on domestic and foreign markets? How does design affect the sales opportunities and the crucial factors of high production economy?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Eberhard Prager, director of the Institute for the Political Economy of Socialism, Social Sciences Academy, SED Central Committee; and Evelyn Richter, staff member at the same institute; pp 152-155]

[Text] What Is Software?

Information processing technology always means the package of hardware and programs. It depends on the quality and quantity of programs to what extent productivity potentials inherent in hardware are exploited. Creative efforts in all economic sectors are needed to produce software more rationally and use it more effectively.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Eberhard Poppe, of the political science and jurisprudence section of the Martin Luther University at Halle and Wittenberg, member of the GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 156-162. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] Human Rights--Safeguarded Social Facts in Our Country

In conformity with the UN human rights program, human rights and basic freedoms for all citizens are totally realized in

the GDR. It is being shown by life as it really is, and explained while coming to grips with bourgeois human rights concepts, that the full exercise of political and personal rights and freedoms depends on the safeguarding of economic, social and cultural rights. What is the importance of the basic socialist right to sharing in the government and in development for realizing other basic rights?

[Summary of article by Dr Heinz Hahn, chief mayor of Neubrandenburg City; pp 163-166]

[Text] Reaching Everyone--Recruiting Everyone

Under socialist circumstances, the workers are not only citizens but the agents of the state as well. Initiating in this sense the citizens' democratic partnership, constantly further developing it and making sure that it attains high social benefits is a great responsibility borne by the local state organs. Experiences and work results of the Neubrandenburg municipal council show how important relevant official publicity is to this. Principles and methods for conducting it concretely are being conveyed.

[Summary of article by Gerd Vehres, graduate political scientist, political staff member of the SED Central Committee; pp 167-171. A full translation of this article is published in this report, under ROMANIA]

[Text] Romanian Communists Set New Goals

The balance-sheet drawn up by the 13th RCP Congress and its resolutions for the country's making further headway in socialist construction, as set down in the congress directives for the 1986-1990 socioeconomic development and, in the main trends, up to 2000. What are the priorities for the intended intensive economic development? The efforts undertaken by the RCP and Romania, aimed at peace and international cooperation, and the orientation to the further development and cooperation with the socialist countries, particularly with the Soviet Union.

[Summary of article by Dr Harry Klug, political staff member of the SED Central Committee; pp 172-177]

[Text] Authoritarian Tendencies in Conservative Conceptions of Democracy

Ascribing the rule of an "elite" of "oligarchy" to the term of democracy reflects the authoritarian base line in conservative conceptions of democracy, which means to disguise the rule of monopoly capital while calling to task the opponents of monopoly power in the name of democracy. Where are the limits as well as the opportunities of bourgeois democracy? What efforts are the conservative ideologues making to justify a new manner of weighing the methods for ensuring imperialist rule for the benefit of using violence? And what about the resistance from democratic forces?

6 May 1985

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

## INCREASED LABOR QUALITY, EFFECTIVENESS DISCUSSED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 40 No 2, Feb 85 (signed to press 14 Jan 85)  
pp 129-135

[Article by Prof Dr Helmut Koziol, SED Central Committee member, director of the Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management of the SED Central Committee: "Use Value Increase and Enhanced Value Through Higher Refining"]

[Text] At the ninth SED Central Committee session, Comrade Erich Honecker explained that a qualitatively new step toward higher production refinement has to be taken in our economy in conformity with its specific reproduction conditions.<sup>1</sup> That means starting out still more with our own raw material resources and using the latest technologies and procedures to get to high-grade products. That is crucial for the national income growth and for higher efficiency in social production.

This description of the quality and efficiency of social labor assumes that use values and enhanced values rise together. It was Marx who proved that--without necessarily increasing expenditures for raw materials and machinery--enhanced value is obtained if the product "gets a higher finish, a higher use value, and so the value of the product increases."<sup>2</sup> For a social benefit, this must involve massive processes, of course, as expressed, e.g., in the demand for much more product upgrading. That also stresses the role of time economy. It crucially controls the historic level of the use values, the concrete work and the social effectiveness of abstract work. Marx expresses the uniform and inseparable connection between concrete and abstract labor in connection with the time economy by saying that "a manufacturer who uses a new invention before general use is made of it can sell more cheaply than his competitors, while yet above the individual value of his merchandise."<sup>3</sup>

On behalf of the further shaping of the developed socialist society, what matters is that the improved product quality, the trimming of production consumption, and the boost in labor productivity are achieved through concrete labor on each job, that the expenditure in live and embodied labor is reduced, and that thereby the opportunities are enhanced for satisfying all sorts of needs. These are all requirements of the main task policy in its united economic and social policies which, as Comrade Erich Honecker explained at the ninth SED Central Committee session, will continue to determine our course.



There is an immediate connection between labor productivity boosts, the economic reproduction process intensification and the economic cycles of which it is composed and the national income growth, which is controlled in particular by the effects of the time economy law.

The grading and rating of economic processes ultimately always involve two questions. The first asks about the size and growth of social wealth. The second inquires into the efforts we are making to maintain and enlarge this social wealth--determined by the volume of use values society can dispose of to satisfy the needs of the population.

#### Concrete Labor and Its Effect

With the amount of labor a society performs at a given time all the more use values can be produced the smaller the labor effort is, gaged against working hours, in terms of a given use value unit. Society then is all the richer, the larger its labor productivity, the "productive force of labor," is.

It is, however, more complicated to determine a society's total of wealth because, as is well known, use values differ and are produced by diverse concrete labor and, thus, do not simply add up.

Karl Marx has the distinction to have pointed to the fundamental way to solve this problem by introducing the categories of concrete and abstract labor. He wrote: "All labor is, on the one side, an expenditure of human labor power in the physiological sense, and in this capacity of equal human or abstract human labor it forms the value of commodities. On the other side, all labor is an expenditure of human labor power in a particular purposive form, and in that capacity of concrete useful labor it produces use values."<sup>4</sup> Diverse as use values are, equally diverse also are the types of concrete labor, which can qualitatively be differentiated in terms of purpose, working tools, working objects, the nature of labor operations, the qualification level, the integration in the division and combination of labor and so forth. Marx explained that the old form of the use values of the means of production vanishes in the labor process, but only to be absorbed in the form of a new use value. "The worker thus obtains the values of the used-up means of production or transfers them as value components to the product through the special useful character, the specific productive form, of such surplus labor."<sup>5</sup>

Four aspects of great topical interest are important in this connection:

First: Only concrete labor creates use values. Value is produced with it, and use value is its basis. Marx writes: "Nothing could be worth anything without being an object for use. If it is useless, then the labor contained in it is useless too, does not count as labor and, hence, forms no value."<sup>6</sup>

This principle fully applies to production in socialism. We realize a value in products only that conform to the needs of the population and the economy or can be sold on foreign markets, are being needed, in other words. Unsold use values are wasted concrete labor and, hence, value losses.

Output being proper as to specifications, in quality, volume, and delivery schedules, as well as the production costs decisively depends on concrete labor. Now and in the future that will make especially high demands on the effectiveness of the scientific-technological potential and the concrete labor by the engineers, specialists and so forth. Their activity must bring us products with use value properties like performance, efficient functioning, ease in operations and economic benefits that meet high criteria.

Second: Concrete labor has a decided influence on consumption effectiveness and the use of material funds. It controls the level of production consumption and the utilization of available raw material resources of our own, including secondary raw materials.

How thriftily material funds are used depends on concrete labor. And more than that. Concrete labor transforms new scientific-technological data into high economic results. In the process of the scientific-technological progress concrete labor uses modernized and new working tools, brings new and improved work objects into use, uses new energy sources and applies new technologies and procedures. It is understood that concrete labor itself is then subjected to change, that vocations and occupations change. All this serves the purpose of diminishing, through concrete labor, the consumption of energy and material and the use of fixed assets per production unit in the process of value conversion without reducing the products' use value properties which, quite on the contrary, are supposed to improve. And that precisely is the basic feature of higher refining.

Especially conspicuous conversions of this kind in the contents of concrete labor at present relate to microelectronics, automation, robotics, biotechnology and other modern technologies and to a higher degree of fixed assets exploitation, mainly through more multishift labor.

Third: Cost reduction and the increase of the productive force of labor are directly linked with the social division of labor and the division of concrete labor and the cooperation and combination there on a higher level. It depends on the productivity of labor in one branch--which is "of course always the productive force of useful, concrete labor"<sup>7</sup>--how much of a labor capacity can be used in another one to satisfy other needs. It is evident that production costs as well as economic proportions and production structures in the final analysis depend on the efficacy of concrete labor.

The division of concrete labor "creates through the analysis of crafts activities, the specification of working tools, the formation of piece workers and their grouping and combination in a total mechanism the qualitative structure and quantitative proportionality of social production processes, i.e., a specific social labor organization, and thereby then also develops a new social productive force of labor."<sup>8</sup> In socialist society it is possible to use this gratis productive force of social labor<sup>9</sup>--formed on behalf of the workers and together with them--at a steadily growing measure to make labor more productive and easier and effectively apply the vast potential of knowledge, skills and abilities to social development. Deepening the division and specialization of labor--the social labor as well as that in the immediate labor process--enhances the social character of labor and the mutual dependencies among the various

activities, labor processes, production units and branches. Qualitative change in concrete labor and changes in the division and specialization also are inseparable from changes in the association of the part workers into the social total workers as the totality of the division of labor cooperators. Through "the production of the total worker combined on the large scale,"<sup>10</sup> who has "eyes and hands front and back,"<sup>11</sup> for which reason he achieves much more than by working on his own, improvements are continually becoming possible in the massive application of the means of production. This dialectic between division and combination, specialization and cooperation, differentiation and integration, which is basic to the general socialization process of production and labor, becomes highly dynamic under the conditions of a rapid scientific-technological progress.

Through forming and developing the combines in the GDR that "specific social labor organization" was set up that conforms to the level attained and the future developmental requirements of the productive forces and the maturity of our production relations. That taps the "new social productive force" in a two-fold sense. The combines, on the one hand, as basic economic units, as production and production-specialized commodity producers, are the basis for the social division of labor and, within the scope of central state management and planning, essential elements in implementing the advantages of socialism. In that function they form on their own, according to plan and actively the social cooperation among the production branches. On the other hand, it is the task of the combines--within which relatively closed reproduction cycles take place--to make full use of the labor capacity concentrated in them and organize concrete labor rationally and highly effectively to that end, and provide smooth cooperation within.

Fourth: The benefit of concrete labor--optimum labor product quality according to demands and rationality in its manufacture--greatly depends on the qualifications and skills of the workers. Coping with the demands made by the manufacture of new commodities, the application of new technologies and procedures, quality improvements and higher refinement, and made by the task to transfer scientific-technological achievements fast to production, with high productivity and at favorable costs, and sell the produced commodities with good results--all that greatly depends on the working people's requisite education and training or on how they acquire that. The development and application of microelectronics, without which noticeable advances are no longer conceivable in automation and mechanization, require steady changes in training. It has been far-sighted, therefore, that in vocational training basics have for years been taught in electronics, data processing, industrial measuring, control and regulating technology and other technologies, which must, however, constantly be qualitative expanded, reproduced and rendered more specific through continuing education, permanent study and in other ways, in conformity with the scientific-technological process.

#### Abstract Labor and Value Determination

While concrete labor concerns the "how and what of labor," abstract labor is concerned with the "how much, the time it takes."<sup>12</sup> As far as the value determination is concerned, it always is a matter of reducing concrete labor to abstract labor, to the expenditure in human labor altogether. Yet since work does not only differ in terms of the use values it produces, but also in terms of how complicated it is, calling for differences in training in the labor force, in determining values it also is always a matter of reducing complicated to simple labor.

Labor is what counts in determining the value of a commodity, gaged against working hours, but only "to the extent that the time used for producing the use value is socially necessary. And that includes several things. Labor power must function under normal conditions," be normally developed, and command in its field of specialization an average degree of skill, expertise and speed. Nor "must raw material and working tools be consumed in disregard of the purpose because squandered material or working tools do not enter into the product of value formation."<sup>13</sup> Constantly relating the labor expended to its socially necessary degree is one of the most important prerequisites for economic efficiency and rationality. It constitutes an indispensable condition for inevitably increasing labor productivity under commodity production conditions.

The crux of higher refining lies in the use of skilled labor, i.e., in the capability of concrete labor to convert material and energy economically, highly effectively, into products with higher use values and enlarge in this process the growth in newly created value. Skilled or more complicated labor acts like multiplied simple labor and can create more in the same amount of time, more in use values and more in value. That underscores the role of highly productive labor in innovator processes in terms of value growth. "The labor of an exceptional productive force acts as labor at a higher power or creates within the same intervals higher values than the average social labor of the same type."<sup>14</sup>

Prerequisite to it is that full use is made of the highly skilled labor available—that, e.g., college and technical school personnel is assigned in line with qualifications and that, in particular, the most advanced science and technology data are made effective. Only the skill conversion in the labor process creates the higher use values and offers the possibility to obtain labor productivity increases in terms of the "exceptional productive force," which through its lead over the average social labor effort achieves a higher value growth. That precisely is what Comrade Guenter Mittag called attention to when he remarked that a boosted labor productivity involved not only its growth rates but also its level.<sup>15</sup>

For a country as active in foreign economy as the GDR, the remark by Karl Marx that the social average effort is determined not only nationally, but also by the level of the internationally traditional average effort is especially pertinent. Looked at that way, even the "exceptional productive force" has to be seen in relation to this effort. Marx wrote: "The industrial capitalist constantly looks at the world market, compares and must constantly compare his own cost prices with market prices, not only at home, but in the whole world."<sup>16</sup>

#### How Higher Refining Effects a Value Growth

Increasing the use value generally means that useful properties of a commodity are improved for the buyer or new useful properties are added to the ones already there. An improved technical parameter of a commodity, offering greater benefits to the user, has the same effect on him as having several commodities available. When new products are made with new use properties, then there is a chance that the same product—"the mass of needed raw material and instruments assumed as constant—gets a higher finish, a higher use value,"<sup>17</sup> whereby a surplus value is realized.

In higher refining the value transfer through concrete labor is so qualified--thriftily and rationally aimed at products with high use values--that the transferred embodied labor is enriched with a maximum of skilled live labor. The more skilled, i.e., labor at a higher power, is the content in the transferred embodied labor, the more economically effective scientific-technological data determine its use value and that of the end products, the more is done more rationally and productively through scientific-technological data and a prudent labor process organization, the faster will the quantity and quality of the products improve.

Comrade Guenter Mittag explained the economic significance of the connections between use value, quality and refining in showing that the concentrated expression of the degree of refinement attained is the quality of the output and that quality labor more than ever controls economic efficiency. Quality means that a product embodies the latest scientific-technological data and was made through modern technologies in the most productive manner.<sup>18</sup>

Enhancing qualities is the crucial starting point. To the nature of higher refining, as the SED's economic strategy means it, corresponds an economic effect shown by the growth of newly produced value, the additional newly created value. And this new value, as one knows, is the value-related substance of our national income. What counts in each combine then is to develop for production new commodities with high use properties in short time frames, to produce them economically effectively and to sell them. This is a continual process that constantly provides economically effective innovations sure to be sold.<sup>19</sup>

In higher refining all the questions of economic growth through higher productivity, efficiency and labor quality on the basis of scientific-technological process appear in a concentrated form. Higher refining creates products with higher use values, enhances the new value substance by applying skilled labor, and opens new possibilities to cut back the effort in live and embodied labor through using refined products. That trims the "price" for the boost in labor productivity. That is the chief benefit of the higher use value in products that constitute the means of production--working tools and labor objects.

#### Impulses for the Whole Reproduction Process

Higher refining essentially relies on the "materially creative and embodied science relative to man as he has become, in whose mind exists the accumulated knowledge of society."<sup>20</sup> Higher refining, as a process in increasing productive force of concrete useful labor, affects all branches of production, but especially the field of consumption. And that actually is its ultimate purpose.

Such revolutionary developments as microelectronics, robotics, biotechnology, refining processes in the basic materials industry and in the chemical industry, all the way to the manufacture of high-grade technical consumer goods, conform to basic social needs. The genesis of such innovations, the discovery of their specific working principles, finding that they are technically feasible, and uncovering the points of attack for their economic utilization all primarily have for their starting point the scientific-technological and economic conditions of their specific production branches. Overall impulses for the entire economy

come from them, for the buyers, the users and the branches that process them further and others which through the ancillary supplies they provide create the material prerequisites for the mass production and use of such innovations.<sup>21</sup> They visibly enhance the efficiency and qualitatively change the essence of labor. In satisfying one need, they trigger new needs, in production and consumption.

Higher refining also is a process that finds its conditions in the entire production chain, the vertical, as it were, across all essential production stages down to the initial materials properly speaking. As higher refinement affects all subsequent steps, it relies itself on the changes, the increased productive force, in the preceding stages. Marx supplied a universal description of these phenomena. For the case that the growing productive force of labor runs into a barrier "in that the volume of raw material and machinery does not grow," he formulates approaches for solutions all the way, e.g., to this consequence: "If the raw product that supplies the industrial raw material on the bottom level cannot be increased rapidly—one has recourse to a substitute that can be increased faster."<sup>22</sup> So one must of course account at this point for all measures for comprehensively using domestic raw materials and secondary raw materials, so as to use economically and most efficiently the available organic raw materials and energy sources and use them more in the materials economy, for higher refinement across all levels of raw materials and semifabricates, for processing faster "augmentable substitutes," and things like that.

Our economic strategy resolutely assumes steadily better qualities and higher labor efficiency. Whatever is achieved by science and technology, by trimming production consumption and boosting labor productivity, by production upgrading, in the process of enhanced refining and, connected with that, in improved use values and the value growth through advances in intensification, it all must crystallize in greater profits and reduced prime costs, which means in greater efficiency for men's benefit.

Economically that means achieving a national income growth as we need it to ensure the people of an existence in peace and enrich their lives, in the sense of the basic economic law of socialism. Having that goal, we have to ensure, and raise step by step, the material and cultural standard of living the population has achieved, constantly perfect the material-technical base—which includes its modernization and upgrading through such key technologies as micro-electronics, robotics and so forth, as much as the expansion of the domestic raw material base and the reproduction of the natural environment—and at all times reliably ensure the protection of the socialist accomplishments.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbüros an die 9. Tagung des ZK der SED" [From the Politburo Report to the Ninth SED Central Committee Session], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1984, p 36.
2. Karl Marx, "Principles of the Critique of Political Economy," "Werke" [Works], Vol 42, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1983, p 341.
3. Karl Marx, "Das Kapital," Vol III, "Werke," Vol 25, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1964, p 248.



4. Ibid., Vol I, "Werke," Vol 23, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 61.
5. Ibid., p 215.
6. Ibid., p 55.
7. Ibid., p 60.
8. Ibid., p 386.
9. Cf. Claus Kroemke, "Higher Productivity of the 'Social Total Worker,'" EINHEIT, No 3/4, 1983, pp 316 ff.
10. Karl Marx, "Das Kapital," Vol III, "Werke," Vol 25, p 89.
11. Ibid., Vol I, "Werke," Vol 23, p 346.
12. Ibid., p 60.
13. Ibid., p 210.
14. Ibid., p 337.
15. Cf. Guenter Mittag, "Oekonomische Strategie der Partei--klares Konzept fuer weiteres Wachstum" [The Party's Economic Strategy--Clear Concept for Further Growth], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1983, p 94.
16. Karl Marx, "Das Kapital," Vol III, "Werke," Vol 25, p 349.
17. Karl Marx, "Principles of the Critique of Political Economy," "Werke," Vol 42, p 341.
18. Cf. Guenter Mittag, op. cit.
19. Cf. Hermann Poeschel, "Erhoehung der oekonomischen Wirksamkeit von Wissenschaft und Technik" [Enhanced Economic Efficacy of Science and Technology], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1984, p 44.
20. Karl Marx, "Principles . . .," loc. cit., p 607.
21. Cf. Karl Marx, "Das Kapital," Vol I, loc. cit., p 404.
22. Karl Marx, "Principles . . .," loc. cit., pp 666-667.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

RELATIONS WITH USSR EXTOLLED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 40 No 2, Feb 85 (signed to press 14 Jan 85)  
pp 178-181

[Article by Guenther Schneider, deputy department head of the SED Central Committee: "In Strong Fraternal Bond With the Soviet Union"]

[Text] "An irrevocable and basic party and government policy concern, and a concern of our people's heart, is the friendship with the Soviet Union,"<sup>1</sup> Comrade Erich Honecker affirmed at the ninth Central Committee session. Just now, when we are getting set for the 40th anniversary of the victory by the heroic Soviet people and its glorious army, the chief force in the anti-Hitler coalition, over fascist German imperialism, the GDR working people, through their achievements in socialist competition, are erecting a worthy monument to the historic act of liberation, confirming their friendship and bonds with Lenin's land. Our party has always considered the friendship with the CPSU and the USSR the crucial cornerstone for all its policy. Only through the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and within the family of socialist peoples it became possible successfully to fashion the most humane social order ever on German soil, freely realize the people's right to self-determination, and secure the peace.

The further consolidation of the fraternal alliance with the CPSU and the USSR, the progressive development of all-round cooperation, the coordination of the foreign policy activities and the deepening of socialist economic integration--those are the basic prerequisites for the further consolidation of the socialist community as of each of its countries, on which in turn decisively depends socialism's greater weight in the international class conflict. This position, written into our party program and confirmed by the 10th SED Congress, has deep roots in the theory and practice of our revolutionary movement.

Ever since the Soviet power has come into being, our relationship with the CPSU and the USSR has entailed the question of our people's historic perspective. The attitude taken toward the first successful revolution in the history of mankind, in which not one exploiter class took over from another, but when exploitation, suppression and war were eradicated altogether, unarguably reveals on which side of the class barricade political movements stand, and whether a resolutely revolutionary policy is carried out.

So the bond with the Soviet Union and the Leninist party was not born for pragmatic reasons, does not signal a small country's "dependency" on a large one, as imperialist propaganda seeks to suggest. Such anticommunist forgeries about the fraternal alliance of the countries of real socialism are manufactured by as simplistic as awkward a horse trader's trick: They are projecting the wolfish law of capitalism into the relations among communists, thereby seek to counter the radiating strength of real socialism and discredit the relations of equality and equal rights among the socialist countries. Our socialist fraternal alliance is a completely new type of alliance--in contrast to the imperialist "partnership," which always goes together with competition and rivalry. It relies on socialist internationalism, identical socioeconomic and political principles, our joint Marxist-Leninist ideology, and the uniformity of communist objectives. Completely correct and proven through decades of practice is the ingenious prediction Marx and Engels formulated as follows in their Communist Manifesto: "In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nations vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end."<sup>2</sup> This thought matches Marx' remark that through socialism "a new society evolves whose international principle will be peace because the same principle--labor--rules each nation."<sup>3</sup>

#### In Thaelmann's Spirit

The unity of national and international interests by the revolutionary workers class, as established by Marx and Engels, determines our party's position to Lenin's land. The leadership of the Spartacus League and of the young KPD acknowledged the worldwide importance of the Great Socialist October Revolution and from the outset sided with the first workers and farmers power in world history. From the founding KPD congress, at the time that 1918 turned into 1919, German communists sent a message to the Soviet state which, under Bolshevik leadership, shattered the omnipotence of imperialism and established and successfully consolidated the workers and farmers power.<sup>4</sup>

Even months before, in May 1918, Karl Liebknecht, a political prisoner in the Luckau penitentiary at the time, had realized that with the 1917 October Revolution in Russia something entirely new had entered the history of mankind and that it was necessary for the Soviet state to procure the requisite means of power to "secure the permanence of the socialist regime and make possible its carrying out its social tasks so that, as the model and pioneer for the proletariat in other countries, it could pave the way to world revolution."<sup>5</sup>

The real course of history has indeed demonstrated that the changes initiated by the victory of the Great Socialist October Revolution were of an exemplary character. From this most important revolution in history, which marked the start of humanity's worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism, and from the impulse of this revolution, lasting all this time, the international workers class derives the strength for the struggle to implement its historic mission.

The Red October was the first victory by the resolute peace forces over those of war, the persuasive historical proof for the possibility of having the working people seize power, for shattering the omnipotence of capital, and for setting up a new world without exploitation and suppression. Valid and directional continue to be the words from Ernst Thaelmann in 1926 that became the maxim for the German communists: "The crucial question for the international workers movement is its attitude toward the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union. Here the roads part, and must part."<sup>6</sup> The remark in the SED Program, that the "steady consolidation and deepening of the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries in the socialist community"<sup>7</sup> is a mark of the developed socialist society conforms to the experiences of this struggle of six and a half decades for establishing the workers' and peasants' power on German soil.

Unforgotten is the towering importance of the Soviet peoples' victory over fascism. Forever our people will remember the immeasurable achievements and sacrifices by the Soviet people in saving world civilization from Hitler's hordes. That also gave our people the great historic chance to take its destiny into its own hands by invalidating the somber forces of exploitation and war. And we have used that chance. Under SED leadership, the way was paved for a socialist development, and forged was the alliance with all anti-fascists, including believers of diverse religious confessions and members of all population strata who had learned their lessons from the fascist terrorist rule. Starting at the first hour, we could rely on the inestimable help from the Soviet Union—with bread and tractors and valuable advice. We have always attributed the greatest importance to the rich experiences of the Soviet communists. Lenin's land was the first to realize the universal inevitabilities of the socialist revolution and of socialist construction, the consideration for which is the absolute prerequisite for success by the new society. By establishing socialism in conformity with the objective inevitabilities of social development and its leading the way to the developed socialist society, the USSR has gathered rich experiences and is significantly contributing to the further development of Marxist-Leninist theory.

Precisely because the first workers and farmers state on the earth became the pioneer in establishing the new order and is the main force in the worldwide struggle for peace and social progress, the imperialist enemy directs his main attack against the CPSU and the Soviet Union. So they are belaboring the notorious lie about an imitation of the Soviet "model" imposed on the other socialist countries, although it is understood, and has been proven in practice, that no revolutionary movement can just copy the experiences of another. In each phase of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, the Marxist-Leninist parties are compelled to respect the dialectical interaction between the universal inevitabilities and the specific conditions in any given country under which they must necessarily be enforced.

The dialectic between the national and the international means looking at both sides in their reciprocal unity. So it is not a matter of "surmounting" the national factor to conform increasingly to the internationalist character of our world-outlook. Proletarian internationalism can fully develop only if at the same time socialist patriotism is developed as an impulse for class-bound thinking and conduct--the love for the socialist fatherland, the cultivation

of its revolutionary and humanistic traditions, the knowledge of its history and the preservation of its progressive legacy. Thereby each socialist country can also best satisfy its internationalist obligation.

Picking up Lenin's observation on the relation between the fundamental principles of communism and the national political differentiations,<sup>8</sup> Comrade Erich Honecker wrote: "The increasing variety in the concrete socioeconomic and political conditions and the tasks confronting the communist parties and other revolutionary forces today require the search for the way how, in line with the concrete situation in the various countries, the socialist transformation and the construction of socialism are to be carried out. For this, the sum total of international experiences gives them an ever more complete and richer picture of the way and, at the same time, reliable insights into its basic features which, in one way or another, as Lenin said, 'repeat themselves with historic inevitability at the international scale.'"<sup>9</sup>

### Solidly Associated

Our parties and countries are jointly working for consolidating the unity and cohesion of the socialist community and for a still more intensive and effective collaboration among our states. In the struggle for the most important task today, for the safeguarding of peace, we feel at one with the main force for peace in the world, the USSR, which is performing immeasurably, together with the other Warsaw Pact states, in keeping the most aggressive U.S. and NATO circles in check. To these immense efforts, expressed in the active struggle for enforcing socialism's peace strategy and preserving the approximate military-strategic equilibrium, our republic, as a politically stable and economically efficient socialist state, and as a cornerstone of peace in Europe, is making its contribution. We fully endorse the Soviet Union's proposals for the recovery of the international situation.

In our friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance treaty of 7 October 1975, the perspectives for our republic's all-inclusive partnership with the USSR are charted for decades, ranging into the next millenium. The great dynamism and enormous scope of the economic cooperation between our countries are already expressed by the increase of our foreign trade volume from R 300 million in 1950 to R 14 billion in 1984. The two countries are the largest trading partners to each other.

Economic cooperation with the USSR is of far-reaching importance to our economy. The agreements signed in June 1984 between Comrade Erich Honecker and Comrade Konstantin Chernenko and the program set down in October last year for our economic, scientific and technological cooperation introduced a new phase in the economic interlinking of our two states with objectives and effects that will range into the next millenium. We are aiming our concerted efforts at implementing the resolutions from the CEMA Economic Summit.

GDR-USSR cooperation, embracing all sectors of public life, is becoming more effective and fruitful for both sides. It is hardly possible to express through statistics the partnership relations between party organizations in bezirks and oblasts, between enterprises, colleges and cultural institutions in both countries, and between units of the Soviet Army and of the National People's Army

of the GDR. This historically grown community, a result of purposeful and ideological work, serves the mutual experience exchange and consolidates the alliance between our parties and countries through millions of threads of personal friendship. The appeal on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitler fascism and the liberation of the German people properly emphasizes that the indestructible fraternal alliance between the GDR and the USSR--the centerpiece of which is the collaboration between our Marxist-Leninist parties--counts among the greatest accomplishments in our development. That is being built into the future, from generation to generation.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 9. Tagung des ZK der SED" [From the Politburo Report to the Ninth SED Central Committee Session], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1984, p 8.
2. Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, "Communist Manifesto," "Werke" [Works], Vol 4, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 479.
3. Karl Marx, "First General Council Address on the German-French War," "Werke," Vol 17, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1983, p 7.
4. Cf. "Protokoll des Gruendungsparteitages der KPD, 30. Dezember 1918 - 1. Januar 1919" [Founding KPD Congress Proceedings, 30 December 1918 - 1 January 1919], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1972, pp 113-114.
5. Karl Liebknecht, "On Russia," "Gesammelte Reden und Schriften" [Collected Speeches and Essays], Vol IX, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1968, p 503.
6. Ernst Thaelmann, "For the Victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union," "Ueber proletarischen Internationalismus, Reden und Artikel" [On Proletarian Internationalism--Speeches and Articles], Philipp Reclam jun. publishing house, Leipzig, 1977, p 54.
7. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 21.
8. Cf. V. I. Lenin, "'Leftist Radicalism,' the Infantile Disorder in Communism," "Werke," Vol 31, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 79.
9. Erich Honecker, "Lenin's Party's Treasure of Historic Experiences," "Reden und Aufsaeetze" [Speeches and Essays], Vol 5, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1978, p 166.

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## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

## BOOK ON CIVIL RIGHTS REVIEWED

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pp 186-187

[Review by Dr Klaus Heuer, political staff member of the SED Central Committee, of book "Politische und persoenliche Grundrechte in den Kaempfen userer Zeit" [Basic Political and Personal Rights in the Struggles of our Era] by a collective headed by Prof Dr Eberhard Poppe, Staatsverlag der DDE, Berlin, 1984]

[Text] The constitutional basic rights and basic freedoms of the GDR citizens express the real freedom of the individual in socialism and his high quality of life. In their variety (our Constitution has more than 40 basic rights), in their specific legal structure and with their political, economic and legal guarantees, they are also a significant and effective social factor as, after all, the full exploitation of the content of the basic rights by the citizens and their conscientious protection by the state organs and enterprises promote the personality development of the individual and the essential features of socialist society. They create social comfort and stimulate performance readiness. A collective headed by Comrade Prof Eberhard Poppe, in a study recently published by Staatsverlag, assigned itself the task to present that context, elaborate the specifically socialist character of the basic rights of the GDR citizen by reference to his political and personal rights, and answer questions we encounter every day.

That is all the more significant in view of the extraordinary efforts bourgeois ideologues are making in hitching their human rights theme to their anticommunist crusade chariot. The myth of the oppressive omnipotence of the socialist state over the individual is part of the central argumentative pattern of imperialist propaganda. That includes also the attempts to contrast the new freedom rights socialism has produced, such as the rights to work, education, codetermination and coshaping, with classical human and civic rights--whose safe retreat presumably is capitalism--and devalue them thereby. While taking issue concretely with the stereotypes in anticommunist argumentations, the authors present the Marxist-Leninist basic rights conception and are extending it further. That is done, first, by explaining the inherent connection and equal worth of all basic rights in socialism: "An equitable administration of basic rights for all spheres of life is expressive of a socialist policy oriented to the all-round development of personality" (p 14). That is done, secondly, by their demonstrating that the so-called classical human rights like the inviolability



of personality and the freedom of opinion, assembly, affiliation, belief and conscience are part and parcel of the GDR citizens' rights and how they are legally structured comprehensively and realized (cf. pp 116 ff). And this is done, thirdly, by their showing with reference to the UN human rights program, that in decisive respects they run counter to the bourgeois human rights concept (cf. pp 207 ff).

In the first chapter, which deals with general theoretical questions, the briefly outlined historical emergence of the basic political and personal rights in the GDR is likely to be of interest. That process, after all, included divesting the basic rights of their hue of natural rights, explaining them in terms of dialectical materialism and developing among the working people a new basic rights understanding as an element of a progressive political and legal consciousness.

It conforms to the essence of a socialist state and its policy that in view of the nuclear threat against humanity by the most aggressive imperialist circles, ensuring the right to living in peace is of the top rank among the basic political rights. New in this form of being presented is its inseparable connection with other basic rights. The authors define this right as a claim the citizens have on state power, based on Articles 6, 7 and 8 in the Constitution, to pursue a policy aimed at the safeguarding of peace. Wholly in this sense of the unity of rights and duties, this claim is supplemented by the citizens' political-moral obligation to do by themselves all they can to ensure the right to a life in peace, tying themselves thereby to the organized peace force of the socialist state (cf. pp 45, 69 ff). And properly underlined is that "military service in the NVA is for a citizen of the socialist GDR the most effective form of assuming his basic right to a life in peace" (p 106).

Particular attention among the basic political rights attaches also to the right to codetermination and coshaping as a basic socialist right which, from the citizen's point of view, pertains to socialist democracy itself. The effect on the personality of the actively coshaping citizen and his individual responsibility for the quality of that coshaping are given central attention there: "Its effectiveness is affected by the citizen's contribution being creative, original and problem-related and coming from his own impulse, from an acknowledged social responsibility. This then both demands and stimulates the individuality of the socialist citizen" (p 47).

Even before, in 1980, the authors had published a study which lifted the basic personal rights as a special group out of other basic rights and treated them separately. In the present book they reiterate that this type of systematization that can be derived from national, international and international law documents conforms to the degree of maturity of real socialism in our country. Thus the protection of the citizen's inviolability and his personal freedom as to Article 30 in the GDR Constitution (including their safeguards in legal proceedings), together with the protection of individuality, serve our massive personality development and a most profound public concern to boot. Of benefit to political-ideological work is, particularly, that the disparate constitutional rights like personal freedom, the freedom of movement, the inviolability of living space, the freedom of conscience and of belief, personal property and so forth are shown in their basic content and traced to their consequences in ordinary life (cf., e.g., pp 162-163).

The argument extends also to the right to the respect, protection and promotion of marriage and family, as belonging to the basic personal rights. Linked with this right, which implies extensive obligations for the state organs, combines, enterprises and social organizations, is the basic right of parents to educate their children "so they become healthy and happy, capable and all-round educated people and nationally conscious citizens" (Article 38, Paragraph 4 of the Constitution). This raises the question, it seems to me, whether one should not add to the parents' basic right to educating their children--which, after all, also is a basic duty--a right children have to a responsible education by their parents.

In a monograph by lawyers, a special examination of the guarantee system in basic rights should not be omitted. In bourgeois jurisprudence the presentation of guarantees, i.e. the prerequisites and conditions guaranteeing to each citizen the exercise of his basic rights, are marked by a one-sided overemphasis on the legal protection by courts. Conforming to entirely different conditions, as the authors show, in our society the realization, protection and defense of the basic rights are primarily ensured by the workers and farmers power and the socialist production relations. In their unity with political, economic and ideological guarantees, together with the judicial--all the way to the legal protection and the citizens' petitions--they constitute a historically new type of basic right guarantees. Interesting is likely to be--even above and beyond the circle of specialists--the persuasive polemics against bourgeois administrative courts (cf. p 76). Altogether, however, the presentation of the guarantees still remains too abstract and faint. What one misses here is a thorough analysis of practice, of the real weight of the distinct guarantees in the life of the citizens, of developmental trends and so forth. Could we not gain worthwhile impulses for a scientific probing into the guarantees--and into the basic rights as such--even by processing the practice of petitions, for instance?

The two concluding sections, dealing with the "splendour" and "misery" of human rights in capitalism and the UN human rights program, complete the publication. The examinations at hand demonstrate that real socialism is the trail-blazer in realizing the ideas of democratic international law and human rights. No doubt it is up to the Marxist-Leninist legal scholars to fertilize more effectively still our people's intellectual life by the questions they raise and the results of their efforts. The present book has made good headway toward it. We should welcome its discussion among social scientists, propagandists and officials in practical fields.

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HUNGARY

DILEMMAS OF WAGE DIFFERENTIATION, OVERTIME, UNEMPLOYMENT

Lifestyles of Workers Described

Budapest MAI MAGAZIN in Hungarian No 1, 1985 pp 5-6

[Article by Katalin Dogossy: "No Statute Can Prescribe What Quality of Life a Person Creates for Himself"]

[Text] No statute can prescribe what quality of life a person creates for himself. Whether he drives himself beyond his strength and capacity, or stops at a limit that does not curb his material desires but strikes nonetheless a sensible balance. And spares the person even until technology becomes able to spare him adequately.

The Hungarian Shipyard and Crane Factory belongs among the well-paying enterprises. Its director general is perhaps the youngest chief executive in the country. With an elegant cigar between his lips, he is quick, reserved and purposeful. He allows me free access to the shipyard and is not afraid that I will stumble onto something. We are playing with open cards. According to the rules, but we are not the ones who set them. I am walking the many kilometers of the Angyalfold factory unit's own roads. There are slogans on the soot-covered walls of the subdivisions. In front of the hut housing the canteen, a long line of workmen are waiting to buy breakfast, and I am counting the vanishing minutes of working time lost. Ham and hard salami are being bought by the quarter kilogram. The price tags under the glass of the display case reflect our present standard of living. And everything is sold. Because we are living well, fairly many of us are living well. But at what price?

Sitting on unfettled iron castings that lie on the foundry floor made soft by the accumulated dust, women are smoking and talking, their voices drowned out by the constant din.

Red-hot at 1300°C, the iron glows and generates heat. At one time the foundry employed 250 workmen; fewer than half that number are working there now. There are no replacements in founding, no training of skilled workers, and no unskilled workers. A person is unable to work more than 8 hours a day there. The danger of silicosis is about the same as in the mines. Respiratory damage and locomotor diseases are everyday occurrences.

Sandor Pataki, 54, is a skilled foundryman. He has been working in this foundry 31 years. He earns 11,000 forints a month on average. Five persons are living in the 2.5-room apartment in a housing project: his divorced wife, his daughter, son-in-law and their 6-month-old baby, and he.

"You know, my daughter was 11 when we got this apartment. Before that, living with parents in one room and kitchen, and then in a succession of furnished rooms, my marriage broke down. By the time we got the apartment, we were divorced. This is how we are living: my wife, my daughter, and I, each of us in a separate room. Then my daughter got married, and my granddaughter was born. Tell me, how can one exchange a 60-square meter apartment for three separate ones? Noway. I am living the best I can. I spend what I earn and drink my six to eight bottles of beer every day. How else could I stand it? In winter, my head and feet are freezing, and my skin and hands are burning next to the 1200°C pouring ladle in this drafty foundry that is open on three sides. Each day I handle 10 cubic meters of sand, and the tamping machine shakes my breakfast out of me. I am making castings that weight 10 metric tons, according to a fixed norm, and do not have time to go to the toilet. I am still paying the bills for the apartment: 600 forints for heating, 300 forints for electricity, 26 forints for the gas in the water heater, 150 forints maintenance, and 365 forints OTP [National Savings Bank] mortgage. I eat and drink what is left, spending 150 forints a day for food and drink. I took a KST [Mutual Savings Bank] loan to go on vacation, and that too has to be repaid in installments. I am 54, and all I poses is a half room. What have I lived for? My daughter has grown up and finished secondary school. My granddaughter is 6 months old. I hear her crying at night, but it is no longer I who has to get up to quiet her."

Marti, the young mother, is 20. She is living with her husband and their baby in their one room. She is staying at home, receiving a child-care allowance, which she will be getting for a total of 3 years. And then 3 more years, for the next baby. She seems happy and prefers staying at home to working in an office for 2,600 forints. She nurses the baby, cleans house, eats and sleeps. When her husband comes home at 5:00 pm, they roll the baby in a leased carriage out in the sun and then go somewhere to drink beer. Neighbors stop to admire the baby. She lies on her stomach, raises her head, looks out the plastic side window of the carriage and does not yet think about the future.

Gyorgy Toth, 19, is a skilled fitter. His monthly income is 8,000 to 11,000 forints. The enterprise is paying for the IBUSZ [Touring, Procurement, Travel, and Shipping Corporation] room in which he is living. His monthly expenses are only for food, clothing, and entertainment. But for a 19-year-old, living without parents in the capital's "vast forest of opportunity," all this adds up.

He works mostly outdoors, summer and winter. Working occasionally confined between a ship's bottom shell and inner bottom, without much air, is more than toilsome. Under 20, however, one can become accustomed to all this and find it tolerable. At the end of the shift, with the swelling ebullience of youth, Gyuri casts off the burden of the past 8 hours and embarks into the vast forest of pubs, clubs and concerts that he finds so exciting. All his friends

are kids barely 20 who are obsessed with hard rock and American motorcycles, and wear leather suits. After 8 to 10 hours of intensive physical labor a day, they follow the amateur orchestras that practically only they know and admire, to the culture centers in the outskirts of the city where, with a bottle of cheap wine in their pocket, they drive themselves to ecstasy. In arguments at daggers over foreign orchestras or the performance of the solo guitarist at a concert, they somehow discover one another and themselves. They spend their money on Western records and tapes costing 300 to 600 forints. The pedestrian who encounters them in groups of 20, clad in leather from tip to toe, with bristling hair and noisy, will cross over to the other side of the street. The aim and purpose of their appearance is to separate themselves as a group from others, and to evoke fear. Because alone, without the identical outfits and comrades, they are tired, weak and uncertain. Most of them earn the money for this lifestyle by brutally hard physical labor, but this is something they do not talk about. The common topic of discussion is music, music, girls, and again music. As we talk about this and that, Gyuri is entirely soft-spoken, still a youngster.

"Probably I will tire of all this once and go back to the provinces. I will be spending less, and earning half as much as now. But for the time being it is good here. I like Budapest, my friends, and the variety of programs. Admittedly, the shipyard is squeezing everything out of me. By Friday, I am barely alive and my back aches. I go to bed at 6:00 pm and sleep 15 hours. But then Saturday evening is already mine. What should I save for? A house or apartment in Budapest? It would be useless. A person from the provinces may not live and settle in Budapest."

I am walking the cold and dusty shops of the Angyalfold shipyard. The people are earning well. With sophisticated incentive systems, all kinds of wage calculations, enterprise work associations, and by working overtime, the workmen's pay very often exceeds 10,000 forints. The interests of the shipyard and of the worker seem identical: to run ever faster after the money.

Laszlo Birges, 48, is a skilled electrician and brigade leader. His average monthly income is 15,000 forints. He is a tall and sturdy fellow. Every day for the past 30 years, he has been wiring the 30-meter-high cranes, outdoors. He put in 107 hours of overtime in September, which means that he worked the equivalent of 34 8-hour shifts that month. But at the end of the month he found 16,800 forints in his pay envelope. He lives with his wife, and a son and a daughter of school age, in a housing-project apartment that measures 54 square meters and consists of two rooms and a hall. He has no financial problems, but he usually does not put anything aside. There are all kinds of choice foreign beverages on the cleverly illuminated shelves behind the built-in bar in the hall. And there are fine beers in the refrigerator under the bar. I interview him.

[Question] Your wife works, too. The two of you must be earning at least 20,000 forints a month. Could you give me some idea of how you spend it?

[Birges] (Without glancing up.) The council allotted us the apartment in 1977. The down payment was 28,000 forints, and the monthly mortgage is 560

forints. Other expenses for the apartment come to about 2,000 forints more. The rest just goes, and I don't even know where. For the car and food, and on the two children. Admittedly, I do not like to save. When the family gets together on weekends in my father-in-law's house on Lake Balaton, we consume 100 to 150 bottles of beer. And we also like to eat well, mainly meat. But believe me, you have to eat. A blue-collar worker who works hard eats a lot. I myself eat for breakfast 0.5 kg of bread with 0.2 kg of butter, and 0.25 kg of sausage or something else. How much work can a person do on an empty stomach? And then we drink after the shift, because we are either cold or sweating. I do not drink alone, and drinking in company costs more. The trouble is that a person has grown accustomed to a certain standard of living, to substantial meals, and to always having a couple thousand forints in one's pocket. And as the years go by, it is becoming increasingly difficult to maintain that level. Nowadays you somehow have to work more for the same things. Thus we are working, arguing fiercely for raises of 0.40 to 0.60 forint per hour, and looking around to see what other work we can undertake and how to increase our performance. There are weeks when I do not get home before 8:00 pm on any single day.

[Question] Is it worth the effort?

[Birges] The working stiff does not ask whether it is worth it. The young workers need the money for an apartment or a car, and perhaps would like also to go out now and then. The elder workers want their 10 bottles of beer a day, the 2 liters of wine, their daily 3,500 calories, two packs of Szimfonia cigarettes, and their morning shot of whiskey, to be able to work from dawn until 6:00 pm.

If you look at it closely, the 10,000 to 12,000 forints per month is not really so much for this work. It is enough. You are able to live on it, but unable to save anything. Some changes in attitudes are certainly necessary. But so long as people have to do this work under such conditions, you can hardly expect any change in lifestyle. In the crafts where the manpower shortage is the most evident--among fitters, foundrymen, and lathe operators, for example--you find today only people whose sole ambition is money. Anyone who comes to work here and accepts the conditions will adopt the lifestyle of his environment: he will work 10 hours on average, spend 1.5 to 2 hours in the pub, and sleep through the weekend. He might buy a lot or build a house, but his needs are purely material ones.

You know, the sad thing in all this is its tacit acceptance in the training of skilled workers, and in the enterprises' business and wage policies. It has been a very long time since I last heard anyone mention the triple slogan of working, learning and living in the socialist way, with 8 hours for work, 8 hours for rest, and 8 hours for recreation.

The new forms of pay regulation as of 1985 are linked to productivity, cost reduction, greater efficiency and better quality--in other words, to an increase in profit. They offer the enterprises more incentive but also increase the economic pressure on them. At the same time, they ensure more flexible

opportunities for the enterprises to implement their conceptions of wage administration and to adjust to local conditions.

The new system of regulating incomes and earnings makes for higher labor costs. But at the same time it wants to provide more favorable conditions for the management of all factors of production, and for the more efficient use of manpower. There are wider opportunities for rewarding better the work performed during regular hours, which might alleviate the demand of both the enterprises and the workers for more overtime.

Nevertheless our material means, within the limits of what we can afford, will tend toward relieving man of the burden and monotony of the most difficult physical labor. But no statute can prescribe what quality of life a person creates for himself. Whether he drives himself beyond his strength and capacity, or stops at a limit that does not curb his material desires but strikes nonetheless a sensible balance. And spares the person even until technology becomes able to spare him adequately.

#### Overtime to Maintain Lifestyle

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 22 Feb 85 p 5

[Article by Jeno Farago: "Dilemma"]

[Text] A Communist mine foreman in Tatabanya raised the following difficult question before a party forum that was discussing the report on a survey of the socialist way of life: "I no longer know whether I am living the socialist way or not. A few years ago the brigade was still able to board a bus and go to Budapest for a theater performance. But now we do not have time even to sit down to talk over dinner, and to spend the 3,500 forints we saved up long ago. Because many of us are working extra shifts, and whoever happens to be free is too tired. Of course, not everyone is willing to undertake extra work. There are miners who prefer to spend their spare time with their families and go to a motion picture or theater. I myself undertook more than 100 extra shifts last year. Then who is living the socialist way, I or they?"

The mine foreman has raised a thorny question. For it can hardly be denied that extra work undertaken steadily, at the expense of one's leisure time, culture and family, definitely compels one to change his lifestyle. Moreover, knowing our energy problems and the difficulties of training replacements for the mines, we can hardly console the mine foreman by saying that the extra shifts will soon end, and his lifestyle will revert to its former pattern.

But life often creates dilemmas, confronting us with difficulties that we failed to recognize in due time or could not have foreseen. It is permissible and necessary to raise the question of how the critical situation could have been averted, and what was the role in them of lack of foresight, and of failure to undertake possible preventive measures in due time, and measures to alleviate the present difficulties. But as in any difficult and critical situation, the main task at present is to ease the plight of those who are hit the hardest, by undertaking extra work and making sacrifices if necessary. This is



what the miners in Komarom Megye have done and are doing also now. They are working extra shifts so that the factories will have coal, and the homes will not be without heat. The elderly--like an old miner in Dorog, at the January party membership meeting--remember the old battles for coal, "when we had to go because the nation requested coal of us. The situation is not easy even now, and sacrifices have to be made today as well."

In those days we did not yet know, and had not yet defined, the concept of the socialist way of life. It is no exaggeration to claim--and the elder generation can bear us out--that even implicitly it practically meant working the socialist way. When was the concept of the socialist way of life added to the vocabulary of our political and public life? Perhaps in the 1960's. Whatever the date, one thing is certain: this is not a concept that sociologists created speculatively, but a concept that has sprung from reality. Life necessarily placed on the agenda the question of what to do with our accumulating material wealth, what to use it for, and how. We could quote from the debates of that time and recall what misconceptions had to be dispelled in those who feared that our growing prosperity would undermine socialism's intellectual and moral values. On this occasion we would like to remind readers only of one thing: in the concept of the socialist way of life the emphasis was also then, as it is now, on the requirement of working the socialist way. With reason, for work is the foundation and source of any lifestyle. And if we want people to live the socialist way, and to spend their material wealth the socialist way for their own benefit and that of society, then a prerequisite for their doing so is that they acquire their material wealth the socialist way, i.e., by work, and that they observe the written and unwritten laws of society.

The party forum's answer to the mine foreman's dilemma was the same even in essence as the one we have presented above: whoever undertakes to work more is responding to our problems in a socialist manner and is living the socialist way. And what about somebody who does not undertake to work more? We cannot thoughtlessly judge him harshly, because there can be very many reasons, besides health considerations, why a person cannot or will not undertake extra work. But it is likewise true that when a community must assume a heavy burden and make sacrifices, its response is truly socialist when the burden and sacrifices are shared equally, in accordance with each individual's strength, ability and circumstances.

The answers outlined above provoke further doubts and questions. For example: Can the concept of the socialist way of life be narrowed down to working the socialist way? There is no question of doing so. Due to the difficult economic conditions and recession, however, extra work and additional performance may temporarily become so important in some sectors that we must indeed sacrifice some of our leisure time and renounce many of the things that we regard as essential conditions and requirements for the socialist quality and fullness of our lives; or we are forced to do so by the stagnation or decline of our standard of living. But so far as extra work is concerned, a distinction must be made between the person whom the needs of the national economy, the burdens of starting a family or obtaining housing, or a declining living standard compels to undertake more work; and the one who becomes his own

slave driver due primarily to acquisitiveness, excessive pursuit of material wealth, and the worshipping of money. Incidentally, the difference between the two is obvious. The necessary curtailment of leisure time will cause the person who truly wants to live the socialist way--among others, also the mine foreman--to stop and ponder whether it is possible and proper to live that way steadily. Already his dilemma in itself indicates that not even the 18,000 to 20,000 forints per month that he earned with extra work has compensated for the unsatisfied needs that specifically the socialist system has instilled in workers, and that the mine foreman already has an inextinguishable demand for a fuller and more meaningful life, culture, and for socializing with his fellow workers as well. But the person who wants to acquire for the sake of acquisition will hardly fret in this manner or have qualms of conscience about his lifestyle, because either this has never occurred to him or he has already forgotten that the accumulation of material wealth cannot be one's objective, only a means for making his life more meaningful.

And here we have arrived at a question that, even though unsaid, is implied in the mine foreman's dilemma: Is concern warranted that excessive extra work will harm the socialist way of life and the values it represents? Regrettably, fairly many examples indicate that such concern is warranted. A change of lifestyle does occur where extra work has been reduced solely to the pursuit of material wealth, and we see man's intellectual, cultural and humane impoverishment amidst the material wealth. Extra work in the case of others is a necessity they would gladly dispense with, but the burdens of starting a family and obtaining housing tie down all their efforts, leaving them no time for a more meaningful and more cultural life. But here, just as in the mine foreman's case, we have no cause to fear for the socialist way of life, at least in the sense that there hardly will be a permanent renunciation of socialist intellectual, cultural and community values. As also the mine foreman's example demonstrates: he aspires for a more meaningful and fuller life, of which the many extra shifts now deprive him. At the meeting, his frank disclosure of the dilemma that today is not his alone further proves this.

Thus the answer he received must be expanded. It is not enough to say that the person who undertakes more than 100 extra shifts a year to mine more coal, because it is in short supply in the national economy, is responding the socialist way to our difficulties. It is also necessary to add that we regard this solution only as a temporary one, and that we will not abandon any value that we have regarded up to now as an inalienable attribute of the socialist way of life. But temporarily we must sacrifice this and that. The struggle is being waged to restore the equilibrium of not only the national economy but of the way of life as well, to preserve, maintain and eventually enrich our developed values. Work is the most important weapon in this struggle. The extra work, and the demand for efficiency and increased performance await some people in the mines, others at the drafting table, and still others in politics and public life. The important thing is that everyone undertake extra work wherever it is needed, commensurately with his own ability and serving community objectives as well. Only in this way will we be able to resolve the dilemma that confronts many people, and about which the Tatabánya mine foreman spoke frankly and with justifiable indignation.

## Trade Unions Reject Unemployment

Budapest OTLET in Hungarian 7 Feb 85 p 11

[Interview with Gyorgy Ott, deputy chief of the National Council of Trade Unions' Department of Economic and Living Standard Policy, by Tamas Falus: "The Trade Union Dilemma"]

[Text] [Question] It may seem realistic to expect that in the future there will be people who will have to face difficulties in finding employment. How can the trade union safeguard the workers' interests under the new circumstances?

[Answer] The new system of regulation does indeed encourage the enterprises to shed their surplus work force. We are supporting this trend, but our standpoint is that the job security of every wage earner must be ensured. However, it is a mistaken view that the trade union will protect also the persons who are undisciplined and are undermining labor morale. The possibility cannot be excluded that in the future there may be individual grievences when the worker himself will be not be able to decide his own destiny. The trade-union committees will have to assume a much greater role in the future. More efficient manpower management at the enterprises must not cause fundamental livelihood problems on a mass scale.

[Question] That is in theory. But how can all this be realized in practice?

[Answer] We know of a few enterprises that went into liquidation even before this. Many of their workers left voluntarily, and others retired. Furthermore, the system of state institutions is solving the workers' problems by re-deploying, transferring and seconding workers.

[Question] And what will happen with the workers who cannot find work even so? Or what will happen if no enterprise is willing to take over the factory or plant forced into liquidation? Under the new circumstances, this could happen more often than in the past.

[Answer] In such cases it will be important for the trade unions to exercise their role and rights in safeguarding the workers' interests. It will be the task of the industry-wide trade-union organizations to call the problem to the attention of the minister concerned and to demand its solution. And the state organs will have to prepare a plan of measures to avoid situations of this kind.

[Question] The trade-union committees and organs at the enterprises are faced with a big dilemma that stems from their dual task: they must safeguard their members' conditions of employment, but it is also in their interest to help the enterprises operate as profitably as possible.

[Answer] The trade-union committees must strive to ensure that everyone has work. Purposeful foresight is needed: as the economic and working conditions change, also organized retraining may become necessary. We must except the fact that there will be career modifications in the near future, because society must adapt to the changes in the economy. If, say, 100,000 workers were

to lose their jobs suddenly, the trade-union movement would have to propose appropriate measures. But the efforts are not directed toward making this necessary. Incidentally, the entire work force will be needed to achieve the desired economic results. Regrettably, the work force is declining anyhow.

[Question] But as Dr Laszlo Herczog, a senior official of the Ministry of Finance, said recently, there is real danger that the enterprises with low profits will be able to pay their taxes only by reducing wages and salaries or by trimming their personnel, or perhaps both. This implies that even sudden lay-offs might be possible.

[Answer] First, the conditions for giving notices are regulated by the Labor Code, and therefore "sudden" lay-offs are ruled out. Secondly, the regulators enable the enterprises to contain the damage. What I regard as a realistic danger is that the enterprises in financial difficulties will be unable to extricate themselves because they will be unable to pay their workers, who will then be drawn to the vigorously growing enterprises. But the fact is that the assumption of social risks is necessary, and the trade union agrees with this. However, this must not result in lay-offs for thousands of workers.

[Question] Could this happen?

[Answer] No, in my opinion. Incidentally, there are now between 2,000 and 3,000 persons seeking jobs. Mostly girls in the provinces who have graduated from secondary school, and certain young intellectuals at the start of their careers. For example, dentists and meteorologists in Budapest.

[Question] Many people contend that unemployment already exists in Hungary, because the wages of those workers to whom the enterprises are unable to assign any work are actually unemployment benefits.

[Answer] I cannot imagine that in the future there will be no work to assign anywhere for months on end. That would create a situation in which the enterprise would simply be unable to pay wages. If such cases do occur, it will be up to the responsible managers to remedy the situation.

[Question] Do you, too, believe that unemployment and unemployment benefits are unimaginable in our society?

[Answer] Yes, they are unimaginable. The Hungarian constitution ensures the right to work. We must take cognizance of the fact that our society is able to develop only if there is economic growth, and we need every available worker. The absence of economic growth would jeopardize our institutions and all our achievements. Therefore, the further maintenance of full employment --parallel with the enterprises' efforts to use their work force efficiently--unalterably remains an important task for social policy and the state.

## Obligatory Overtime

Budapest MUNKA in Hungarian No 2, 1985 pp 2-3

[Interview with Ferenc Koszorus, secretary general of the Railroad Workers Trade Union, by Jeno Toth: "Has the Railroad Workers Trade Union Undertaken Something It Cannot Possibly Deliver?"]

[Text] Midway between two congresses, a meeting of the Railroad Workers Trade Union executive committee decided not to support in the future mandatory temporary transfers and excessive overtime. Yet--as the reports on the workers' mood indicate--mandatory temporary transfers and overtime continue to burden railroad workers. According to the reports, the situation in some divisions is so bad that one railroadman is doing the work of three, and regular days off and holidays are rare.

What led the trade union to adopt this standpoint when it knew, for it had to know, that it was aiming for the practically impossible? This was the gist of questions that Jeno Toth asked when he interviewed Ferenc Koszorus, the secretary general of the Railroad Workers Trade Union.

[Answer] Unfortunately, it must be admitted that we have not achieved any significant results since then. The manpower shortage at the MAV [Hungarian State Railways] has already reached 10 percent of total personnel, or more than 13,000 workers. Which means that in what we call dense-traffic operating positions of key importance we are already short of a full shift. It will suffice to say that shunting, for example, is now being done by one or two workers, instead of the customary three or four. I probably do not have to tell you that this increases the likelihood of injuries and damage in work that is hazardous even under normal conditions. The shortage of operating personnel in Budapest and in a number of provincial cities reaches as high as 40 percent.

[Question] And the available employees must do the work of the missing ones, by working with greater intensity or by doing overtime.

[Answer] There is no other solution at present. This is why most railroadmen get only one day off, or not even that, instead of the 4.3 days off per month to which they are entitled by law. Last year, railroad workers sacrificed about 300,000 holidays, and not all did so voluntarily. In dense-traffic operating positions, railroad workers put in 240 to 270 hours a month on average. To the best of our knowledge, however, there are nearly 1,500 who are working more than 300 hours a month. Last year, for example, nearly 8,000 railroadmen exceeded the annual 600-hour limit on overtime specified in the collective contract. In all, the hours of overtime exceed 14 million, even though the enterprise work associations have assumed much of the workload. Overtime has already reached the tolerable limit.

[Question] Are you hoping the job seekers will storm the railroad for some reason or other, and the manpower shortage will cease?

[Answer] Much as we would like this to happen, it is not likely. Practically anyone the least bit familiar with the railroad can tell you why not. Because the railroad is a ruthless place to work, because it operates indiscriminately day and night, on holidays and weekends, in heat waves and cold spells, and it does not offer convenience and much money. But the more sacrifices it demands, of the blockman, locomotive engineer and track-maintenance worker alike. Moreover, they cannot even rely on getting their day-off or holiday.

[Question] Nonetheless pay on the railroad is not bad.

[Answer] Of course not! If somebody works on his days off and puts in 270 to 300 hours a month, his pay is truly better than average. But at what price? Under the 5th Five-Year Plan the income of railroad workers still kept pace with the national economic average. Since 1981, however, it has been lagging, and the gap has now reached 8 percent. Putting it differently, the average hourly wage of a railroad worker is 10 percent lower than that of an industrial worker. By comparison, the social prestige of working on the railroad has declined considerably in recent years.

[Question] If you judge the situation so hopeless, why did the trade union announce that it would not support mandatory temporary transfers and overtime? Were you seeking popularity?

[Answer] You are mistaken. I do not regard the situation as hopeless. I will revert later to why I say this. And when the trade union adopted its standpoint, we were fully aware already then that we could be called very soon to account for advocating something that neither the trade union nor the railroad is able to fulfill. No, this has not been intended as a move to gain popularity. We have been compelled to adopt this standpoint, for a number of reasons. One reason, for example, is that mandatory temporary transfers--when, say, a railroad worker in Miskolc is ordered by his chief to work in Budapest for three months--have been around too long. We are not saying that such temporary transfers might not be necessary from time to time, but we find this completely unacceptable as the only solution for alleviating the manpower problems. Because, manpower shortage aside, also convenience and the search for the path of least resistance play a role in this. I do not wish to commit the same mistake as a radio reporter who years ago made the following comment on the railroad's manpower problems: "How can a shortage of 3,000 railroadmen create such a problem in an enterprise that employs 140,000 persons?" Then the shortage was only that much. But the railroad is not an enterprise whose operations are confined to a small area where a large shortage of personnel can easily be solved through redeployment. In our case the border is the plant fence, and the fact that there are enough railroadmen in Szombathely does not alleviate the shortage in Budapest.

[Question] Unless the Szombathely railroadman in your example is transferred for temporary duty to Budapest.

[Answer] At most then. But how long can this be the solution? How long will a person tolerate being separated from his family and having to work perhaps several hundred kilometers from home, in place of others? Railroad interest or no railroad interest, we must face this fact as well. The more so because



the situation will only be worse if someone resigns from the railroad over a temporary transfer. The workers have been opposed to temporary transfers from the very beginning, and no wonder. With the means at our disposal, we have tried to quiet the workers and explain why the temporary transfers are necessary, but we must take cognizance of the constantly intensifying opposition. And now there is need for temporary transfers not only in Budapest, but also at the places where the temporarily transferred workers normally work. In other words, also where the chain reaction started.

[Question] What do you mean when you say that, manpower shortage aside, convenience also plays a role in temporary transfers?

[Answer] I mean that in a number of instances the manpower shortage could have been eased through better economic incentives, better management and, I might add, more purposeful technical development to replace heavy physical labor. So that you will not think that I am just talking through my hat, take Ferencvaros as an example. Many factors have played a role in its manpower problem and present, nearly critical situation. These include management problems, shortcomings in industrial engineering, gross neglect of equipment, the entirely impossible social situation, and so on. In other words, over a longer of time the railroad has failed to carefully consider a series of central measures. It has been more simple to transfer railroad workers here for temporary duty. This is why we have been compelled to adopt a firmer tone. We had been complaining for some time, but nothing changed. Thus when we made clear our standpoint, we did so with the intention of reaching those concerned and nudging them to finally find a real solution. And the present management is determined to find it.

[Question] What is the situation regarding excessive overtime? What is the trade union doing against it?

[Answer] This again is a question no more simple than the issue of temporary transfers. Here again we must take into consideration the interests of the enterprise and of the workers as well. We are striving to keep overtime within reasonable limits, but cannot adopt a standpoint that there should be no overtime whatsoever. Therefore we are attempting to include in the collective contract limits on overtime that are still acceptable to the workers and meet the employer's interests as well. I must admit that the trade union, because of this, finds itself constantly between the devil and the deep sea. We are being criticized by the railroad worker for whom the limit on overtime is an excessive burden; and we encounter the managers' antipathy when we object to excessive overtime.

Better work by the managers and more efficient organization could do much toward reducing the need for overtime. But, I must add, only if the workers' earnings will not be lower because of this. For this again would create further tensions. Thus the only feasible solution is a steady reduction of the amount of overtime, parallel with raising wages and performances. Not primarily though greater work intensity or physical effort, rather through more sensible work schedules. This is not a simple task, but this is the only way I can imagine it. And I am convinced that it is feasible.



[Question] The amount of overtime in some areas is still excessive at present.

[Answer] It is. This is a Catch-22. In fact, we have to turn a blind eye from time to time, in the interest of the railroad workers and of the railroad as well. But excessive overtime cannot be maintained at all long term. So far we have reached the point where the collective contract specifies that a railroad employee can be required to work only in the prescribed manner and up to the prescribed limit. But if an employee voluntarily undertakes to work more, we will not prevent him from doing so. But we firmly intervene if an attempt is made to compel the employee to undertake more work. We have every means at our disposal for such interventions.

[Question] What will happen if the freight to be hauled increases again?

[Answer] An increase in the volume of freight to be hauled could pose a test for us already this year, because the national economic plan again anticipates a dynamic growth of production. In other words, there may be more freight to haul also for the railroad. On the other hand, technical development will probably not produce for some time yet results that could make our work easier. But I must add that the government and the railroad's management have both done much to improve the railroad's results and situation. For example, funds have been provided for preferential wage increases this year, which will enable us to start narrowing the wage gap; and the modifications of the regulators take the railroad's specific conditions more closely into consideration, to the extent that the situation of the national economy allows. The railroad's top management likewise is striving to increase the MAV's capacity through more efficient managerial work, and thereby to provide better conditions. We find that there is closer harmony between the urgent tasks and the long-term ones. In other words, the railroad's management is striving to quickly solve the urgent problems that have been awaiting solution for years. This is why I do not regard our situation as hopeless.

We on our part are striving to uncover the railroad's pressing problems through more professional work, and to contribute toward their solution also by gathering the workers' proposals. Here we must bear in mind the requirements of the crafts among the railroad's personnel. As this interview, too, has demonstrated, these days it is not possible to lump together the problems of all railroad workers. From the viewpoint of the railroad's future, solution of the problems of the crafts and strata among the railroad's personnel must have priority, in spite of opinions to the contrary.

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PRIVATE PUBLISHING POSSIBILITIES DISCUSSED

Pro-Private Publishing Stand

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian Jan 85 pp 13-14

[Article by Ivan Bajomi: "Private Publishing"]

[Text] The April 1984 issue of KRITIKA published an article from the pen of Bela Reviczky, a worker at the Chief Publishing Administration, about the position of unofficial, so-called private book publishing. I would like to add some remarks to this article's conclusions and to some elements of the provisions which regulate private publishing.

The article's introductory sentences--in which Reviczky, alluding at the very outset to the "natural division of labor" which has evolved in the book profession, described private publishing as an "inadequate form" and a "supplementary activity of personal interest"--seemed very debatable to me. I found it strange that a worker for the state agency which supervises publishing spoke so condescendingly about private initiatives in the field of book publishing, while in the economic sphere the perception that in the age of mass production small enterprises may also have an important role in socialist conditions is gaining more and more ground, above all because the small enterprises are free of the drawbacks incidental to the colossal organizations: bureaucratic overregulation, slow adaptation, and relegation of personal interestedness to the background are less characteristic of them. I do not consider the condescending opinion of private publishing justified if only because, in a later passage of the article, Reviczky also admits that privately published books are generally issued faster than the books of state publishers.

If we accept it as axiomatic that the efficient transfer of knowledge and an ebullient literary life are inconceivable without the comparatively rapid publication of works, we will immediately be inclined to upgrade the private publishing described by the article as "of personal interest." Not, of course, in the sense that we could proclaim private publishing as the only true publication form. For all intents and purposes, alongside elimination of prejudices to be discussed later which hamper private publishing, we consider it very important to transform the organizational framework and personal interest system of governmental book publishing so that the work of state publishers can become more dynamic.

What kind of lessons can private publishing provide from this viewpoint? To begin with, there is the already mentioned and thought-provoking fact that--despite complicated authorization procedures--privately published books are issued more quickly than the books of large publishers. It is my experience that the differences in production time cannot be explained merely by the higher professional level (the books' more precise typography, more meticulous external appearance, for example). In the case of private publishing, it can be said that "natural" driving forces push the manuscript forward on the road to publication; after all, it is in the authors' basic interest to perform or have someone perform the necessary suboperations as quickly as possible. On the other hand, the manuscripts at state publishing houses advance according to a rigorously regulated procedure, similar to the one for ordinary documents. The publishing house operations are slowed down enormously by the fact that neither the moral nor the financial interests of those entrusted with individual subtasks are linked to the completion of work which is quick and good at the same time. As a result of bureaucratic procedure and lack of personal interest, the attitude of publishing house workers toward manuscripts can very easily become ho-hum, for which the books eventually suffer the consequences. While following the wanderings of several manuscripts on the road to final publication, I had the opportunity to convince myself that the publishing house operations drag on interminably partly because the operations which can be performed simultaneously (for example, having special consultants write down their opinions, arranging the graphics, planning the title page) follow one another mechanically.

I find it conceivable that the publishing deadlines could be shortened substantially if, in the sphere of governmental book publishing, the opportunity arose to introduce some kind of "teamwork" and to develop an organizational framework which makes more flexible cooperation possible. Toward this end, we should establish workshops which enjoy comparatively great independence within the publishing houses, which embrace the entire process of book publishing, and which have a material interest in good and rapid work. The creative communities which perform high-quality work free of bureaucratic restraints could obtain prestige and renown for themselves; nor is this a matter of indifference from the standpoint of the over-all level of publishing and the general condition of publishing house workers.

It is known to a sickening degree that the overburdenedness of the printing offices contributes markedly to the sluggishness of book publishing. In connection with this, Bela Reviczky surprisingly claims that "the printing offices /in a strange manner/ [passage enclosed in slantlines printed in italics] always find a way to rapidly reproduce privately published books." The italics are B.R.'s! We could almost suspect behind the short printing deadlines a collusive exchange of winks between authors and printing offices, a conspiracy against state publishers who fulfill a noble mission, if it did not occur to us that the reasons should be sought in more prosaic facts, namely, in interest relations. The "mystery" can probably be explained by the simple fact that the author who is interested in the prompt publication of his book tries to discover the capacities of independent printing offices in a circle broader than the routine printing office contacts previously established by the publishers. It is commonly known that--alongside the main printing offices--

numerous enterprises and institutes maintain larger or smaller copy reproduction units, the utilization of which is irregular; they therefore often have the opportunity to accept special assignments. (For objectivity's sake, it must also be mentioned, of course, that a significant portion of the smaller copy reproduction units are not suited to the publication of books having a more meticulous makeup and issued in large numbers.)

Finally, in the series of factors which engender inflexibility in governmental book publishing, we must mention the large state publishing houses' monopolistic position which manifests itself, among other ways, in the fact that for each publishing field (for instance, juvenile literature, dissemination of scientific knowledge, contemporary fiction) one and at most two publishers are the "special proprietors." Evolution of the monopolies can be traced back to the specialization--after taking the publishing houses into public ownership--which made it easier for the central government to plan and control publishing (in connection with this, see Sandor Varga's article about unofficial book publishing in the April 1984 issue of KRITIKA). A change has taken place from the situation which developed in the 1950s: most publishing houses have broadened their "profile" since then, and consequently the individual publishers' fields of activity overlap each other to a slight extent. Despite this, authentic competition having repercussions on the publishers' work has still not evolved among the individual publishing houses. Since unearthing the reasons would require a lengthy analysis, we must be content to establish clearly and unmistakably (returning to our original topic) that the current regulation of the private publishing situation contributes to the preservation of publishing house monopolies. It emerges unequivocally from the quoted article by Bela Reviczky that--aside from those who produce bestseller literature of above-average profitability--it is in almost every interest of the authors to conform to the conditions of governmental book publishing and involuntarily accept the disadvantages which stem from long production times. It is evident from familiarity with the conditions for private publishing that in the maintenance of the state book publishing monopoly a key role is played by the negative material interest, which we could call a certain kind of peculiar "double tariff system." The number one element of this system is represented by the fact that only works issued by state publishing houses receive a share of the subsidies devoted to book publishing. Consequently, books issued within the framework of governmental book publishing (disregarding those belonging to the "commercial" genres) obtain significant support in accordance with the literary genre, irrespective of their quality and their marketability. (We do not know what serious drawback to the publishers would result if the works were issued in unjustifiably high editions which, after a few years, are sold at half-price or sent directly to the pulping mill.) On the other hand, if an author wants to have one of his writings appear in private publishing, he must not only count on the fact that his book loses the state funds customary for the literary genre but also--and here we run up against the second gate barrier of the protective tariff system--he must routinely contract for publication so that at best he "achieves a reduction in his losses" (B. Reviczky). The certain loss stems from the fact that on the basis of the publishing authorities' paternalistic considerations--with reference to the readers' supposed interests--the price of unfunded publications is fixed at a level similar to the price of works which are published with state support.

After the brief description given above of the--euphemistically speaking-- strange situation of private publishing, maybe I no longer have to state the reasons why the prejudicial distinctions imposed on this publishing form should be abolished.

I believe that the endowment of private publishing with equal rights could take place in two steps. To begin with, we should put a stop to the practice in which the price of privately published books is set lower than the actual costs, leaving it up to the readers whether or not they buy works more expensive than usual yet which promise to be interesting. In the second step, the subsidy system for book publishing should be reexamined, switching over to a system in which the sum total of the emolument would be proportionate not to the number of copies printed but rather to the number sold within 1 to 1½ years. If this emolument system comes to fruition, it should be made possible for the writers of privately published works described as satisfactory from the professional viewpoint (reports by literary advisers are also prepared for what is privately published) to share in the subsidy corresponding to their literary genre, provided they can prove that an x number of copies of their book were actually sold. In the interest of restricting demand for support of private and state publishing, it should be made clear that the total funds allotted for the assistance of book publishing would not increase (except for the increment stemming from inflation). As a supplementary measure to the foregoing, it should be made possible for writers not having adequate "beginner's capital" to receive a loan (to be paid back within a short time under conditions, let us say, similar to those for artisans) for defraying the expenses of printing and retailing their privately published book.

Finally, guarantees stronger than those at present should be offered so that at the time of authorization of private publishing fewer arbitrary decisions are made about those works which cannot be published due to the reasons listed in Bela Reviczky's article (for example, their inferior quality, their content which "offends the country's legal system or public morals"). If it is not in my power to make proposals for institutional guarantees by means of which it might be possible to settle this problem with complete satisfaction, I am certain we should see to it that a public body is established--one which is independent of the agency making first-degree decisions and which at the same time has adequate professional prestige and is recognized by several agencies that protect the interests of writers--to which those authors could appeal whose request for private publishing was rejected the first time.

#### Contra-Private Publishing Stand

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian Jan 85 pp 14-15

[Article by Bela Rigo: "Private Opinion About Private Publishing"]

[Text] It is hard to debate. It is even harder without unambiguously clear starting points. Bela Reviczky, a worker at the Chief Publishing Administration, informed the journal's readers in the April issue of KRITIKA about the situation and practice of self-publishing, private publishing in the official designation. On the other hand, Ivan Bajomi in his commentary disputes the

underlying principles of current practice. The latter would really be worth a debate, but it should be taken up in a different way. So I myself, as a state publishing house editor and as a literary adviser in numerous cases of private publishing, someone who performed Reviczky's duties a decade earlier under circumstances much more trying than at present, can now do no more than add a few thoughts to what has been said so far, and I ask the Editorial Staff to return to the problem once again in a broader frame of reference.

Private publishing, as a bottleneck safety valve, has made its way into the homogeneous wall of socialist book publishing. Its existence is justified by the 1949 Constitution, which reckons the publication of intellectual products among the citizens' rights, provided that society's various moral, political, esthetic, etc., values are not thereby harmed. Nevertheless, the practice got off to a difficult start: three times my immediate boss had a letter of mine rewritten in which I all too clearly informed an interested party about what he would have to do in the case of private publishing. Nor was management of such a case--right down to a decision--free of problems in the Chief Administration's internal procedure. It was treated like an exception which called into question the authenticity of a rule. It is logical. Our publishing houses were established as reader's departments with exclusive authority responsible for each field. Their task was first and foremost to judge the publishability of the very assets to be found there. Attempts were made to protect their monopolistic positions by repeated "profile purification." So if someone wanted to publish something despite the expert judgment at these workplaces, then either the project in question or the meticulously created apparatus was faulty.

Anyone who has ever worked in this field knows very well that there are no infallible literary advisers. I hope that my mentors--from whom I have learned and learn today--do not get angry if I reveal that I can call every one of them without exception to task for having tried to prevent the publication of works which subsequently proved to be successful and of high quality. Yet like every activity, this one also has an error endurance limit beyond which we are speaking not about mistakes but damage. Like a speck of dust which found its way into the machinery, each literary adviser professionally or morally unqualified for his job has occasionally caused inestimable harm. We were able to get some idea of its magnitude at least accidentally when, for example, the poems of a poet who supposedly did not reach the publishing level nevertheless finally found their way through some wicket gate to the public and immediately proved worthy of the Attila Jozsef Prize on the basis of the very same cultural policy standard which the unsympathetic literary advisers would have been qualified to represent.

Today the situation becomes more complicated. More and more, the publishing houses are not reader's departments responsible for a field but rather independent enterprises which are trying to accomplish their political and economic goals under increasingly difficult circumstances. In such a case it might not be possible to force an enterprise to publish a work, if it indeed attains the level of publishability. That is all very well, but what will become of those works and those moral and material livelihoods tied to the works for which no one now answers and--let us add--cannot answer. It is no solution but it is the minimally decent right that authors receive at least the possibility for private publishing. Ivan Bajomi understands well, however, that the matter is



still not by any means thereby settled. He is ready at once with a proposal: the curved price ceiling which routinely makes certain genre types unprofitable should not be mandatory for these authors or--if we are so concerned about the consumer--let them receive, if they have earned it, state support in the same way as works issued by governmental publishing houses.

Excuse me for the following diversion. Our public sentiment is inclined to mystify state administration. On the one hand, its various institutions are regarded as citadels of bureaucratism; and yet the fight against bureaucratism is conceived in such a way that the work force of the official apparatus must be reduced, and at least one of the dragon's heads will thereby fall to the ground. But state administration is part of the infrastructure of our social life, either public health, public education, or transportation. (There, fortunately, no one has yet tried to improve the situation by reducing the work force.) The office also obtains its employees from the existing labor market, and indeed it is at a disadvantage in the competitive struggle for better workers: it pays less, requires more work, and offers poorer and more uncertain professional advancement. At the same time, no one thinks about the fact that after the work force reduction even more documents will pile up in front of the bureaucrat, documents which will be processed even more slowly because we cannot have the office's function reduced: on the contrary, we even want to increase it. Because if we accept Bajomi's proposal, then private publishing will become widespread; moreover, not only must decisions be made about publishability but also about who deserves state support. Let us assume there will be money for it (although state book publishing, primarily book distribution, is struggling with serious financial problems). Who will award these sums of money? (What we are talking about are manuscripts rejected by professional publishers--this is the precondition for private publishing.) The publishing houses can make mistakes, but up against their professionally based errors there is a need for an even better founded counterview if we really want to correct mistakes and do not want to squander the state's money, for which there is no lack of examples, unfortunately.

But who can provide the counterview? In the case of publishability, it is a question of a broader circle of experts, in the matter of support only those could decide who know exactly how to manage with limited funds; so they must assign a certain grade to the deserving. In short, let us hire for this work experts who possess professional skill and a sense of social responsibility, i.e., let us establish a new publishing house. Which henceforth can make mistakes just like the others. At best, we have multiplied the number of work units possessing the right to make decisions, which undoubtedly is the result in another area if we can afford it at present.

Then perhaps it might be possible to make concessions in the matter of prices. The Chief Publishing Administration advocates a uniform price policy. In my opinion, however, nothing justifies our protecting the customer this time. Indeed, let us sell these works for just as much as manufacture of the copies comes to. Or for as much as the author believes they can be sold. These works are not intellectual prime necessities, because then they would not be published in this form. Only the consumer price index justifies our price protection, and yet in this magnitude there might be no demonstrable effect on it. The greater



problem is that, as a result of the automatic effects of the still valid curved price system, we bestow price subsidies on intellectual products whose publication is unharmful but not necessarily deserving of support. Since, however, with respect to all book publishing, there is still no mechanism in effect which in every case would concretely support only that which is necessary and would attain the desired price level in proportion to this support, let us not expect that we will progress further in the field of private publishing than otherwise. On the other hand, in order for the Chief Publishing Administration to give support not for publishing sectors and the annual plans of individual publishers but rather for works and projects which it considers important on a concrete cultural policy level, a much larger apparatus would be necessary. Its existence runs counter to our views on bureaucracy, but the work force used for this would more than make up for the allotted expenses by making the state grants more expedient and more effective.

The situation is further complicated by the fact that today a second outlook on private publishing is in the making which sees in it the opportunity for acquiring income instead of legal redress. Not accidentally, writers who have already established themselves through official channels have tried their hand at it, with works of theirs published elsewhere. There are already precedents which urge adequate caution. After all, professional publishers have also earned millions on bestsellers, and yet with the earnings from these they support their unprofitable books. The profit-making private publishers do not, however, seem inclined to support unprofitable private publishing. At the same time, the greater profits would inevitably attract a good part of the successful books. A strange practice would be established, however, if some authors had the right to try out this channel and others did not.

Emergence of a new possibility for corruption in the spread of private publishing means additional problems. Through their decisions, both the printing offices and the distributors can seriously limit the opportunities for the private publisher. Two state partners generally do not have anything to corrupt each other with, with two private partners there is no sense to it, but what happens if a private partner aspires to call forth--from the representative of state interest--a private interest in conflict with the common good? In plain English: in the case of a profitable work, it is possible to obtain from the printing office not only deadline but also price and paper advantages, if someone finds the suitable partner for this. Determination of the number of copies can proceed in the same manner. If somebody is seeking contraventions of the law at any price, he should not measure the retail prices of the two sectors but rather the totals of the printing office bills and the production times. He probably will not come across a contravention of the law; he can, however, clearly claim certain regularities.

It seems likely that the unusually powerful publishing monopolies, artificially created and for the most part still in Eastern Europe, will lose strength in the future. Private publishing is not necessarily expected to crush them, however. It rather appears to be a satisfactory route if various cultural workshops and editorial staffs of journals acquire publishing opportunities. Nor is it inconceivable for us to trouble our heads about other changes in publishing. It would be a great help, for instance, in the case of unpublished poets and play-

wrights standing hopelessly in line if there were an agency which made their selected materials available in 200-copy booklets; no one would receive any royalties, only a fixed number of complimentary copies (50 to 100) with which one would do what one could, send them to editorial offices, responsible specialists, etc. This kind of method must also be considered because the tightening book market, which is turning away from fiction, can at present only selectively publish the works even of writers and poets who have already made a name for themselves. At such times--this is an old observation--it is customary to shut the gate first on the newcomers. And if we do not want to see a repetition of the tribulations of the poets and the "Unattainable Earth" anthology, which started out as privately published and later--out of various considerations--became semiofficial, then we must prepare for every eventuality. Better than the individual legal appeal actions is an effective mechanism which makes the workers and mainly the directors of the state publishing houses interested in correcting the defects rightly listed by Ivan Bajomi. In such a mechanism, of course, we cannot dispense with any kind of channel. Not private publishing, either.

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POLAND

IZVESTIYA PUBLISHES SERIES ANALYZING POLISH SCENE

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[6 Apr 85 p 5]

[First of three articles by special correspondent N. Yermolovich under the "Polish Notebook" rubric: "Part 1. Journey to Silesia"]

[Text] Katowice, Krakow, Warsaw, Moscow—I had not been to Poland for 1 year. It was even longer since my last visit to Silesia, where I was taken by colleagues from the journal PRZYJAZN (Friendship), published by the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society. I traveled this highway many times when I worked here. Just a few hours' drive and you are in Katowice. And that means the most famous plants, mines, institutes, and the largest voivodship party organization in the country, the only one, moreover, where workers constitute more than half of the membership.

The highway was built in the mid-70's. People often recall that time derisively as the "time of the propaganda of success." Yes, there were defects and mistakes, considerable ones, too, both in the propaganda of the time and in the socioeconomic concepts which it expressed. But there were also successes. Take this highway for example: an excellent four-lane divided highway.

I expressed these thoughts to my guide Jozef Potega, a journalist. After a while he pointed to something:

"There is another product of the 'propaganda of success'..."

A ridge of hills could be discerned amidst the white smoke and beyond that ridge some slender towers. Excuse me; surely there never used to be any hills here...

"It is belchatow!?" I guessed.

Potega nodded.

This is the country's new fuel and energy base. Here, at its very center, they extract lignite in vast strip mines, burn it in power station furnaces, and produce the electricity so necessary to Poland.

In brief, there are very many good examples from the comparatively recent past and, indeed, from the present day for the unprejudiced eye to see. The fields that we drove past then were bare and empty but at the end of summer the harvest work was in full swing. And what a harvest! A record crop was harvested--nearly 30 quintals per hectare. Hopes of improving the populations' supply of foodstuffs, which are still rationed to a considerable extent, are pinned on that harvest.

The problem is with the infrastructure. Growing and harvesting the grain crops is only half the matter. It is equally important to store it properly. That is not easy. There are not enough driers or storage depots. The elevators and processing enterprises do not have enough capacity for such a harvest.

Here is another example. The country has a large dairy herd. But there is a shortage of dairy products. It is for the same reason: there are not enough cold storage facilities, and the milk combines' capacities are inadequate.

The age-old problem of Polish agriculture is its structural backwardness and the large number of small individually-owned farms. This drastically reduces its efficiency and commercial viability. This backwardness means wastefulness in the use of manpower and the machine pool. According to figures in the Polish press, Polish agriculture employs over 30 percent of the working population whereas in neighboring Czechoslovakia the figure is 14 percent--or less than one half. In Czechoslovakia again one tractor works 51 hectares, in the GDR it is 43 hectares, but in Poland it is just 27 hectares. These figures by themselves merely demonstrate the amount of equipment. The whole point is that the amount of equipment does not necessarily denote its concentration even less its efficient utilization. That is precisely the case in Poland.

Industry has its own problems. The manpower shortage is acute, and labor discipline is poor. There were 345,000 job vacancies in the country last year. But there were only 7,500 people looking for work.

I remember the disservice done to the national economy by certain third-rate economists who claimed that the country's emergence from the crisis would necessarily be accompanied by unemployment, which would reach a large scale. So they decided to give early retirement to the most highly-skilled and experienced workers all at the same time. No less than 900,000 of them...

There are more than enough objective long-term problems already, but now some new ones are being added, caused by some people's foolishness. In both cases the country's socioeconomic life is being made difficult by them. Even in a voivodship such as Katowice, which in many respects is very advanced.

I had a detailed talk about this with Jan Zielinski, secretary of the Katowice PZPR Voivodship committee. It is presumed here that in industrial production the voivodship will be the first in Poland to reach the level of the precrisis year of 1979. It is being held back by the indicators of enterprises linked with the West by licensing agreements--those enterprises are experiencing an acute shortage of imported raw materials, semi-manufactured goods, and spares. The situation is immeasurably better in those sectors cooperating regularly with the CEMA countries, primarily the Soviet Union--sectors such as mining and metallurgy.

The stumbling block is the manpower shortage. The voivodship needs 70,000 workers. They could be attracted from other regions, for high wages of course. But that practice has now been condemned. The bitter experience of recent years again showed for all to see the indissoluble link between economic and sociopolitical problems. Such major projects as the "Katowice" metallurgical combine, the Tychy automobile plant, and the new mines in Jastrzebie received tens of thousands of young men from all over Poland, mostly from the countryside--these were first generation proletarians, lacking class self-awareness, politically not well developed, left to their own devices more often than not, with none of the revolutionary or labor traditions of the Silesian workers nor even any family ties. Is it any wonder that this mass of people proved the most susceptible to the demagoguery of the extremist leaders of the disreputable solidarity.

Many aspects of socioeconomic policy which were quite serious for the whole country acquired a particular acuteness in Katowice Voivodship because of its specific features. Working conditions are hard here. There are 100,000 men working underground. The concentration of harmful substances in the air is several times higher than in other regions. The scarred and pitted earth is constantly shifting and pipes and other systems are constantly breaking. By the very nature of their work miners and metallurgical workers are entitled to expect good living conditions, but there are still 210,000 workers forced to live in hostels. Vast amounts of capital were invested in the voivodship in the 70's. Once again mistakes and omissions--occurring in basic industrial construction--meant that the necessary infrastructure was not created. The need for housing, creches, and kindergartens remains extremely acute...

The enemy struck a concentrated blow of tremendous force here. Socialism's enemies were well aware that if they succeeded in paralyzing the voivodship--thereby depriving the country of its coal and metal--this would soon affect the whole of Poland. Developments in the voivodship in the second half of December 1981 were dramatic. The extremist leaders terrorized workers morally and physically and forced them to commit irresponsible acts and blind and destructive anarchy. For over 2 weeks the miners of the "Piast" and "Ziemowit" mines refused to come to the surface, and twice military subunits were obliged to occupy the "Katowice" combine. It would have been much more difficult had the authorities been less decisive at the time of the introduction of martial law, Comrade Zielinski believes.

The results are now in evidence. There has not been a single strike or interruption in work in the voivodship since 15 January 1982. The various subsequent antigovernment and antisocialist calls from counterrevolution at home and abroad found no response among Silesia's working class. The dissatisfaction caused by the deterioration of living conditions persists, however, particularly for poor and large families, pensioners, and invalids.

There is just one path--to restore the national economy, improve the economic system [ekonomika], and take strict guidance from the principles of socialist justice. As for party work, the need there for a close interlinking of society's economic, social, and spiritual development is more urgent than ever.

We had an opportunity to see for ourselves how the character and content of party organizations' work is changing in accordance with the demands of the times. For example, it is not easy to catch Comrade Zielinski in his office: He is always traveling about, visiting enterprises, and talking with people. This is not a personal quality on the part of the secretary, his particular mobility, but rather an element of the new style of party work, a striving to move the center of gravity to the primary organizations, to be in the very midst of the masses more often, to strengthen ties with them, and to know people's feelings and consult them.

In many respects it now feels that positive changes are occurring in the country's sociopolitical life. Recent PZPR Central Committee plenums have confirmed with the utmost determination the course aimed at strengthening the party's leading role and increasing the activeness of all its links.

[7 Apr 85 p. 5]

[Second of three articles by special correspondent N. Yermolovich under the "Polish Notebook" rubric: "Part 2. Light and Shade"]

[Text] Katowice, Krakow, Warsaw, Moscow--On arriving in Poland I invariably visit the editorial offices of newspapers and journals and the radio service. These are more than just mere "courtesy visits." My professional colleagues, well-informed people with their finger on the pulse of life, as it were, quickly acquaint me with Poland's most burning and urgent affairs. There is no need to describe everything they said in detail or to spell it all out. But the essence of our conversations is important, I think. Here it is in the most general terms.

People have stopped avoiding difficult problems. Information has improved and particular attention has been paid to ensuring its timeliness. The past years have confirmed with particular force that in ideological work superficiality is the worst kind of slovenliness. Society is hungry for knowledge and sound argument in what are sometimes difficult areas of discussion--hence the need to answer the urgent questions and to quickly and skillfully expose the half-truth and the patent lie. It is necessary to speak consistently and energetically against one of the enemy's basic theses that socialism is an alien body introduced into Poland from abroad.

I was told that it is necessary to show the origins of socialism in Poland, to depict the people who have developed and asserted socialism's ideas here, and to show their glorious deeds.

I mentioned the difficult problems. They include, in particular, relations between the people's state and the Catholic Church or, to be more precise, its clergy. Strictly speaking the principles of those relations are clear. The separation of church and state is regarded in Poland, as indeed in other socialist countries, as the main guarantee of freedom of conscience and the right to profess any religion or to espouse atheism. The state regards attitudes to religion as a private matter for all citizens. On religious questions the church is independent and is guided by its own statutes. But they, of course, must be in accordance with the legal procedures of the state. No religious organization may disseminate views which infringe the freedom of conscience of nonbelievers or are contrary to the interests of People's Poland.

But these are only the principles. In fact life is far more complex. The clergy are not homogeneous. There are some clergymen who are loyal to the socialist state and actively cooperate with it. But there are others who "confuse the pulpit with the microphone of Radio Free Europe," who hold "hate sessions" in their churches, according to the Polish press, and who passionately seek confrontation between the people's state and believers.

A most unseemly stance has been adopted by many Catholic periodicals which, incidentally, seem to spring up like mushrooms after rain. According to the weekly ARGUMENTY there has been a boom among Catholic publications in the country despite the paper shortage and the complex situation with printing facilities. NOWE ZYCIE (Wroclaw), GWIAZDA MORZA (Gdansk), POSLANIEC WARMINSKI (Olsztyn), and WSPOLCZESNA AMBONA (Kielce) have recently appeared. By 31 March 1984 there were in all about 90 Catholic newspapers and journals in Poland with a total print run of approximately 2 million.

What revelations do they convey to their readers and what Christian virtues do they preach? Servile devotion to the West: the view that true incentives for the development of creative thought exist not in Poland but in the United States. The publicizing of that section of the creative intelligentsia who do not want to cooperate with the government (KIERUNKI). A consistent and purposeful struggle against atheism (LAD). And a protest against administrative restrictions on private enterprise (TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY).

But most indicative, perhaps, is the way that the historical theme is comprehensively exploited, although always with a very definite political undertone. The heroes of these publications are bourgeois nationalists. TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, for example, not only asserts that bourgeois Poland's constitution "guaranteed full democracy" but also prints the reminiscences of such people as Count Andrzej Szeptycki, a rabid enemy of the Polish, Ukrainian, and Russian peoples and a loyal servant of Hitler. That



selfsame Szeptycki who, as metropolitan of the Greek Catholic Church in Lvov, signed the pastoral letter dated 1 July 1941 which stated: "We greet the victorious Germany army as our liberator from the enemy. We guarantee the necessary obedience to the authorities which have been established"....

After passages like that there is a strange ring to the belligerent clerics' insistent assurances of "patriotism." They make no particular show of that other virtue--Christian humility. Quite the reverse, their actions are increasingly vigorous and aggressive. "The Church," ZYCIE LITERACKIE writes, "is persistently broadening its sphere of influence. At the same time the church is arrogating the right to oversee various aspects of believers' lives and is striving to secure a dominant position within the state..."

There are more than enough examples of that. Something truly astonishing happened in Gdansk. In a church there a priest, Father Witucki, pinned the knight commander's cross of the "Polonia Resituta Order" on the chest of another priest, Father Jankowski. But, you will ask, do priests really present government awards in churches? That seems to depend on what kind of award it is. In this instance the cross was awarded on behalf of the members of the so-called "Polish government in exile," who have been entrenched in London since the war. Jankowski's "services" are clear--he is the spiritual mentor of the unknown Walesa. But what is the claim to fame of Witucki, a priest and citizen of People's Poland? That of having reminded his parishioners of the political corpses in London and of demonstrating time and again a provocative contempt for law and order in People's Poland?! It would seem so.

Temples of God are often turned into propaganda centers, as has happened with the Church of the Millennium of Poland in Nowa Huta, which I visited. These churches collect signatures to various antigovernment statements, open exhibitions, and hold concerts, poetry evenings, performances by actors, and readings, which usually have nothing to do with religion. When the parishioners in the village of Piszczac (near the city of Biala Podlaska) accused their priest of recklessly spending the money that they had collected for the repair of the church, their spiritual shepherd read out in public the names of those people who had displeased him or who had not contributed any money, adding that these people were "reds," "party members," and "enemies of the Catholic Church." The congregation's complaints to the bishop produced nothing. In Wloszczowa, a settlement in Kielce Voivodship, the management of the vocational and technical college decided to clear the educational premises of the crucifixes that had been introduced there. Two priests from the local parish and a group of strangers then burst into the college and occupied it. In that particular incident the bishop acted as an outright instigator.

A correspondent from SLOWO LUDU, the local newspaper, talked with students. You can understand from their accounts why the priests were able to seize so much power. "You will not write that the only entertainment in Wloszczowa is that offered by the church. There is nothing at the culture center, and it is the same at school in the afternoon. No one gives us as much attention or time as the priests."

In view of these and many other facts, the attempts by the clergy to depict the Catholic Church in Poland in the Martyr's crown of thorns are ludicrous, to say the least. The public is becoming increasingly worried by another real, and awesome danger--the growing influence of a militant and ambitious section of the clergy. Even believers have begun protesting through the press about the venom and slander offered them disguised as the "word of God." The church is not accountable for its actions but is prepared to inflate any difficult situation, particularly any conflict situation, to the level of a national tragedy. At this point how can we fail to think of Brzezinski, who preached that "supporting the idea of Polishness (polskost) also demands symbolic sacrifices and even a certain unrest since the national consciousness must sometimes be revived by dramatic confrontations which entail sacrifices." And Brzezinski, after all, is not the only and by no means the highest ranking "fellow countryman" whose voice is heeded by the false patriots in cassocks.

It is immoral to exploit the flock's ignorance and lack of information for unseemly propaganda purposes. It is also immoral to prosper unreasonably, as the Catholic Church is doing in Poland during a difficult time for its people. The country has a shortage of housing, hospitals, schools, libraries, culture centers, kindergartens, creches, and homes for the disabled and the aged. There is a shortage of construction materials and manpower. And yet churches appear as though by magic. Poland now has twice as many churches as in the immediate postwar period.

I shall cite just a few figures. In a Catholic country such as Spain there is one church to every 67,000 people (Madrid diocese) and in Italy, another Catholic country, the figure is 42,000 people to each church (Rome diocese). In Poland, however, the figure is 2,500 (!) people to every church (or, more accurately, to every religious building; there are over 10,000 churches and 4,000 chapels in the country). At the same time, two out of every three villages, containing almost one-half of the rural population, do not have a single cultural or educational institution. Only 6.5 percent of the rural population have permanent access to movie theaters.

Those figures come from the newspaper RZECZPOSPOLITA and the weekly ZA I PRZECIW. The Polish press now deals increasingly frequently with a range of problems which until quite recently were considered not so much taboo as not very appropriate--"so as not to hurt the religious feelings of believers." But now many people can clearly see that the religious feelings of believers are one thing whereas the political provocation of Witucki, Jankowski, and the priests from Piszczac, Wloszczowa, and their ilk are something completely different.

Here is another comment. J. Szczepanski, a well known sociologist, wrote the following bitter words in the weekly PRAWO I ZYCIE: "If I were a churchman I would wonder why it is that, in a religious people such as ours, religious exhortations exert so little influence on the daily conduct of believers and why it is that, throughout the week, people in their work places and in their dealings with one another ignore the principles for which we pray so fervently in church on Sundays."

That is clearly how things are. Here are my own observations, admittedly localized but far more optimistic. Take Katowice. The electric lamp plant there. Two-thirds of its workers are women. I do not know whether many of them were in church yesterday. Indeed, I do not want to know, it is no concern of mine. The fact is that they work skillfully and diligently, look well, and are friendly toward one another—that is also clear.

A climate befitting a socialist enterprise has been created there and a spirit of true collectivism has been established when such lofty concepts as patriotism and internationalism (the plant is a collective member of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society), concern for the common good, and attention to individuals are not only stated but are also constantly and systematically put into effect. The plant cherishes and increases the workers' honor and strives to consolidate the high standing of its goods and its brand name and keep pace with technical progress. The plant is actively introducing robots and other modern equipment and technology and cooperates with a scientific research institute in Warsaw and a related enterprise in Brest. The moral climate, the civic stance, and ultimately, the mood cannot be expressed in figures, of course. But there are results which also convincingly demonstrate that aspect of the matter. Last year, for example, the plant increased its output by 10 percent and exports it to 36 countries.

These observations may seem somewhat idealized. But the very last thing I want to do is to indulge in wishful thinking. The situation in the country's economy—and at its plants, too, of course—is still difficult and there are more than enough problems and worries. However, there are also enterprises like the one that I visited. They are on the increase. And I am deeply convinced that their collectives' actions will carry increasing weight and their words be increasingly heard in the strengthening of socialist Poland—a truly patriotic matter for all honest Poles.

[8 Apr 85 p 5]

[Third of three articles by special correspondent N. Yermolovich under the "Polish Notebook" rubric: "Part 3. When the Myths Evaporate?"]

[Text] Katowice, Krakow, Warsaw, Moscow--While trying to stabilize the national economy, our Polish comrades must at the same time make up for serious omissions in ideological work. After all, these processes are interconnected. Neglecting one inevitably affects the other.

One serious and most urgent task is youth education, that integral part of ideological and party work. We often criticize our young people, Comrade Zielinski, secretary of the Katowice PZPR Voivodship committee, told us, and yet they make up over one-third of the workers at enterprises in the voivodship and they work well. But it is also true that the mood of discontent and unrest instilled by the counterrevolution is still strong among many young people. Particularly among a section of the students and young intelligentsia.

It is true that much has been started here, too, but there is still a lot of work to be done. The activity of youth organizations has been revitalized. However, there are frequent relapses into past behavior, such as formalism, red tape, window dressing, and an attempt to substitute mere bluster for depth and seriousness in work with young people.

The story that Remigiusz, our driver, told us is indicative. An announcement calling on people to join the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] appeared on the notice board at the highly respectable organization where he works. How were the leaders of the primary organization trying to enlist young men and women into the ZSMP and what ways were they seeking to use to reach their hearts and minds? Were they offering them more serious and active participation in production and social life or concern for Poland's present and future? Nothing of the kind. The announcement merely mentioned that ZSMP members have more frequent opportunities for... foreign travel!

"My friend and I," Remigiusz said, "read the notice, looked at each other in silence, and walked past. You can arrange travel by yourself if you want. We expect something else from the ZSMP..."

Perhaps that kind of attitude is not very common. But it does exist. And does this fact not go at least some way toward explaining the results of sociological research carried out recently among young people. The figures published show that young workers do not feel that they are representatives of the leading class.

A poll aimed at producing a social picture of young Poles was even more disturbing. Some 2,413 young people answered questions which were designed to find out about the political and moral values of those questioned. The newspaper SZTANDAR MŁODYCH published the results of an analysis of the questionnaire. On 3.2 percent of those questioned consider activeness and a creative attitude to work to be good features. The remainder are either indifferent to or prefer not to notice such qualities. Intelligence is not rated very highly: not one person included civic courage or bravery among the list of positive features.

A close analysis of the questionnaires may cause some concern, SZTANDAR MŁODYCH notes. If people do not appreciate labor or a creative attitude to matters and are not distinguished by civic courage, who will there be to lead the country out of the crisis, it asks. Who will there be to try to avoid a repetition of past mistakes, to prevent corruption and speculation from emerging? It is not enough merely to condemn evil. It takes a firm and sometimes brutal struggle and civic courage to tell people unpalatable truths to their faces and to expose wrongdoers.

Speaking of unpalatable truths and exposing wrongdoers...The myths that have been revived about "good old Poland" and the "fathers of the nation" are still in circulation. This is no harmless fondness for the old, this "retrospective" style in Polish publishing, but a skillful ideological campaign, planned in advance and implemented on a wide scale by counter-revolution at home and abroad and aimed primarily at young people. The

campaign's aim is to contrast the old and the new so as to discredit the new and destroy it completely. To prove that socialism is organically alien to Poland, its history, the development of production and social relations and, ultimately, to its national character and the tenor of its life. To prove that socialism has still not brought Poland any benefit and is not capable of bringing it any. And that, therefore, it is better to do without it.

Nor has history managed to escape a "reappraisal." Pamphlets dealing arbitrarily with certain periods in Russo-Polish and Soviet-Polish relations and in the history of the USSR and People's Poland have been published in Poland quite recently and offered to inexperienced people in the form of sensational revelations. To this day they remain the pet theme of the ideological subversion centers broadcasting by radio to Poland.

I have received a publication which outwardly looks quite respectable. It is an eighth grade history reference book. It is called "Poland and the Modern World." Its author is A. Szczesniak. It was published in 1984 by the "School and Education Publishing House" in a print run of 650,000 copies, which is a huge figure for Poland.

This book is the epitome of so-called objectivism. But the kind in which the very selection of facts, the biased interpretation of those facts, and, on occasion, the intentional omission of any commentary guides the young reader into the arms of anti-Sovietism.

Here is a single but quite graphic example of how it is done. The author relates in some detail the history of the Warsaw Uprising of 1944. He finishes his account by mentioning the fact that different opinions still exist regarding the reasons for its tragic outcome. They include--and I quote--the following: "For political reasons the Soviet Army delayed its offensive and did not help the insurgents." That is all. Period. No explanations or refutations. And thus a malicious slander, soundly refuted long ago by Soviet and serious Polish historians, is consciously implanted in young heads (and the print run, remember, is 650,000!).

It is no coincidence that speeches at party meetings and the party press continue to demand a class approach to the appraisal of events occurring in the country and of the people taking part in those events. Many Polish communists are declaring that it is absolutely essential to adopt a class position in a class-based society in which an acute political struggle is continuing. This is all the more urgent since a false thesis on the moral and political unity of the people was in circulation for a long time here, thereby disorienting the party and demobilizing it.

I would like to end these jottings from my Polish notebook by citing Comrade W. Jaruzelski's words spoken from the lofty rostrum of the Semj: "It is not socialism which has disappointed Poland but rather the lack of socialism. We have to restore the class character of our state and strengthen the role of the workers and peasants..."

CSO: 1800/246

POLAND

## GENERAL VIEWS ARMY'S PARTY CAMPAIGN

AU111504 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 5-8 Apr 85 p 3

[Article by General of Arms Jozef Baryla, chief of the Main Political Administration of the Armed Forces and vice minister of national defense: "Ideological Cohesiveness"]

[Excerpts] The report-back campaign has been completed by the party organizations in the Polish People's Armed Forces and in all other party organizations. Half-way through the present accountability term our party organizations have reviewed their achievements and have evaluated the present implementation of the resolutions adopted by the ninth party congress, the national conference of party delegates, and the Central Committee plenums.

During the report-back campaign we party members always asked ourselves what extra efforts we can make, where we are most needed, and where our position in the political struggle is.

Answering these questions was made easier by the reality of Polish daily life and by the position of the party in this reality. This position is a source of justifiable, albeit moderate optimism because, despite the objective external pressures and subjective shortcomings, there are important facts that support this optimism.

I think that the primary elements that compound the now increasing status of our party in the country's life are:

--The people's increasing trust in the party;

--The party's increasing participation in solving the country's key sociopolitical and economic problems and, consequently, the party's gradual rehabilitation of its leading role;

--The internal qualitative consolidation of party members around the party's program for social reforms, socialist renewal, and the line of agreement and struggle;

--The party's ideoeducational influence on nonparty people is improving, its class backbone of workers is gaining in strength, and its militancy, consistency, and openness in action are increasing;

--Young people--the generation of those who will implement the vision of 21st century socialism--continue to join the party in a qualitatively more extensive stream.

The old truth that the "party member is a fighter and not an observer who merely accepts the party program" was confirmed by the discussions at the report-back conferences in connection with the acute ideological struggle between the political systems. It is not without reason that this subject should be regarded as one of the main strains of party deliberations.

This is because life itself is proving that we not only witness but participate, directly or indirectly, in the class struggle. The Leninist thesis that the class warfare does not end with the proletariat's winning political power remains in force and merely shifts its point of gravity. In Poland this struggle is continuing with changing intensity in the sphere of ideology, politics, and economics on the international and domestic planes.

In this fourth year of the implementation of the congress line of agreement and struggle, we are fully aware of its justice and results. We are more and more conscious of the fiasco of the subversive pressures from without and we are increasingly sure that the antisocialist forces, which are in a state of degeneration, possess neither a program nor a larger number of adherents. History is working in our favor, and it is only a question of time, social maturity, and civic political culture for the healthy stream of socialist renewal to become finally consolidated.

We are not indifferent to the fact that a small but noisy section of the clergy continues to actively participate in the political struggle against us. These clergymen are providing a typical protection for the motley band of the antisocialist forces.

No wonder that the party conferences have declared their full support for the constitutional principles of our socialist state's religious policy and, at the same time, voiced their resolute opposition against some clergymen's disloyal attitude toward people's rule, especially against their intolerance and politicking.

I think that the destructive activities of the group of professional oppositionists, whose slogan is "no," and of asocial and criminal elements who make profit out of our difficulties, are also part of the class struggle. Their programmed attitudes and conduct are also alien to socialist customary and legal principles and moral norms. This is perfidious stupidity, which is full of hatred for our state. This stupidity is at times used by the forces that indulge in manipulations and harm Poland.

The past few years have supplied us with much evidence that the political struggle is continuing. This evidence includes the unpatriotic activities



of the foreign branches of former Solidarity, their total depravity, Walesa's poses as Don Quixote, Blumsztajn's "secret mission," the provocative hunger strikes organized in churches by "eternal students" and regular oppositionists, and so on. These are only some examples, which may only be loosely linked to one another, but all of which have a common anti-Polish thrust.

That is why it is our duty to know exactly the forces and resources of our adversaries in this struggle, which is being waged on a wide front. We must have this knowledge so we can keep our losses at the lowest possible level. It was for this reason that many Communists wearing military uniforms appealed at the report-back conferences for efforts to perfect our weapons in this unceasing struggle and to promote our militancy and effectiveness. Our offensive should assume such dimensions as to be able to counter destructive manipulation with truth and vigilance; attempts to stain the consciousness of our people with political maturity; the negation of socialist achievements with the credible facts; and the destabilizing activities with patriotic unity.

Let us therefore take a closer look at the catalog of affairs that lie within the scope of the Army accountability campaign.

The picture of the party painted by this campaign is positive and satisfactory. We can say without a shadow of exaggeration that we have in the Army a party that is ideologically cohesive and politically mature, as well as organizationally efficient and militant in action.

What authorizes us to make such an assessment?

Generally speaking, the accountability campaign has confirmed the constant process, based on the Leninist principles of democratic centralism, of consolidation of party organizations inside the Army. They are not a collection of autonomous primary party organizations, each of them living its own life, nor are they inert temas passively waiting for "instructions from the top." If they ever were, such cases now belong to distant history.

Party organizations inside the Armed Forces are making an authentic contribution toward improving the moral-political cohesion and combat readiness of military units.

Acting through their members, they are influencing the entire shape of Army life and training. They not only have the right to encourage and urge all their comrades to honestly perform their tasks, whatever their rank, but the duty to do so.

How have party organizations and cells availed themselves of this possibility in the light of the accountability campaigns?

The fact that we have an Army that is suitably trained and educated, disciplined and tested under all circumstances, is the best testimony to the service of party members. We always find them wherever work is

the hardest, and always among model workers. They are always kind to people and ready to help them with their daily troubles.

All this is true. But during the talks we also heard voices that said that some party organizations and cells, including youth organizations, seem to have agreed to be average, according to the principle "do not push yourself to the front and do not remain in the rear." These organizations only begin to be interested in party members when they commit a misdemeanor during service, neglect their training, or commit a breach of discipline. But if they remain "straight," even if they have not made a very great effort, no one will have anything against them as long as they have not "fallen into trouble."

These phenomena, even though they are rare, disturb our comrades. Mediocrity does not suit party membership. Party organizations and cells must demand from their comrades the greatest effort without making any concessions to them and while constantly raising the threshold of requirements. All party members should lie within their field of vision; both model members who manage excellently in service and life but who, like everyone else, are not free of problems and weaknesses requiring a helping hand from their comrades, and members who find it more difficult to fulfill the obligations weighing upon them and hence require special party care, maybe from the first category of party members.

For understandable reasons, the accountability campaign dealt "with a fine toothcomb" with internal party problems, especially the style and quality of work by party cells, the growth in party ranks, and the issue of ideological leadership of youth organizations.

One must say that as far as the above spheres are concerned, party executive bodies and committees have been accorded full approval during accountability meetings and conferences. Party secretaries who, it was said, are capable of directing party work skillfully and energetically gained this approval, in particular. This is all the more satisfying because most of them have been elected to their posts for the first time and have only been holding them for slightly more than 1 year.

A positive assessment was also given to activity for the sake of consolidating the class structure and development of party ranks. The party contains young people in the Army. Almost 50 percent of PZPR members and candidate members are not older than 35. It is an organization of educated people--about 80 percent of members have completed higher and secondary education. In 1984 we accepted into the party 55 percent more candidate members than in 1983, whereas the growth figures for the first months of this year are even higher. We are looking for the best young people for the party, mostly workers and peasants who excel in their service and who have acclimatized themselves to social work inside the Union of Polish Socialist Youth.

We are facing a difficult political season. While strengthening discipline, conquering the still existing fringe of passiveness, and mobilizing all reserves, we can afford to honestly perform all the commitments we have made during the accountability campaign.

"The party in the entire Armed Forces," said Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR CC first secretary, at the accountability conference of the Warsaw Military District, "has always been equal to its tasks. History has clearly confirmed this. Today confirms it also..."

We are also convinced that tomorrow will confirm it as well!

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POLAND

PARTY REPORT-BACK CONFERENCES CONTINUE

AU061933 [Editorial Report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish on 1 April on page 5 carries a total of 2,400 words of reports on the 30 March PZPR report-back conferences in Konin and Opole.

Speaking at the Konin conference, Czeslaw Kiszczak, PZPR Politburo candidate member and minister of internal affairs, is reported to have said the following among other things: "Discussing the determining factors of the country's present situation, C. Kiszczak said with satisfaction, on the strength of his function in the government, that the state of Konin's Voivodship's security, law, and public order is favorable and that Konin region is almost free from the political underground, which does not mean that the opposition is passive."

"Regardless of the words and slogans used, the program of the opposition in our country boils down to attacks waged in every means against the socialist state and the party. The credo of those who simulate the activity of the opposition is to lay in wait for errors and to do everything to hinder the implementation of the party program. The only recipe these people believe in with regard to improving the lot of the Polish workers, to increase the flow of goods to our homes, and to restore market balance is to disorganize and reduce production."

The Opole conference was attended by Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek, who is reported as saying that the party's ally in its activities "is the strength of arguments based on our ideology and in practice, most often, the strength of personal examples involving turning words into deeds." He is also reported to have said the following:

"The economy is still the largest [word indistinct] of our efforts. We know that the economic situation has improved, but these improvements are no cause for satisfaction in view of the fact that we still have been unable to reach the 1979 level of economic achievements. We could say that the economic reform has halted its progress at the level of managers and has not descended below this level. In the coming months we will improve its mechanisms, propagate good examples, and demonstrate that one does not have to blame bad economic management on the economic reform. What we must do above all is to create a system and cult of effective performance by our own exemplary efforts."

POLAND

# PRELIMINARIES FOR PZPR PLENUM ON INTELLIGENTSIA ROLE

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 5, 22 Feb 85 p 8

[Article by Edward Grzelak: "On the Eve of the 19th PZPR Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] On 1 February of this year the Central Committee's Ideological Commission held a regular session dealing with the draft theses of its report, "The Role and Significance of the Intelligentsia to Poland's Socialist Development," for the [coming] 19th Central Committee Plenum, as well as with the program-organizational premises of the 2nd All-Polish Party Conference on Ideology and Theory, and with the adoption of the Commission's plan of activities for the first half of this year.

The deliberations of the Commission were chaired by its chairman Comrade Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary. Also present was Comrade Marian Orzechowski, candidate member of the Politburo. In his opening address Comrade Czyrek pointed to the tasks facing the party in connection with precisely the preparations for the coming Central Committee plenum, the 2nd All-Polish Party Conference on Ideology and Theory, the 40th anniversary of the Agreement for Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Postwar Cooperation between the Soviet Union and Poland, the First of May Holiday, the anniversary of victory over fascism and the 80th anniversary of the 1905 revolution. He pointed to the topicality of the resolutions of the 17th Central Committee Plenum and, in this context, to the importance of the work on new electoral laws and the elections to the Parliament. J. Czyrek declared: "The current year, which precedes the coming 10th Party Congress, should be a year of active work; this concerns developing the offensive in the ideological sphere, because we have sometimes been on the defensive in that field."

The political-program and organizational premises of the plenum and the theses of the Commission's report were discussed in the address by Comrade Janusz Janicki, deputy director of the Central Committee's Ideological Department and chairman of the Central Committee's Interdepartmental Editorial Team. The 19th Central Committee Plenum will deal with yet another large and important constituency--the intelligentsia. (The issue of youth was considered by the 9th Plenum; that of the worker-peasant alliance, by the 9th [as published])

Plenum; and that of the working class, by the 16th.) It is expected to place the principal stress on the intelligentsia's role in materializing Poland's current and longrange development goals, discuss the importance of the intelligentsia's participation in these processes and reflect the need for the intelligentsia to take an active position on the tasks relating to the development of the national economy and culture and the strengthening of Poland's position in the world. In addition, the plenum is expected to point out ways and means of resolving the problems, many of them urgent, bothering the intelligentsia. Undoubtedly, it will also consider the overall relationship between the Polish intelligentsia and the socialist system of society in view of the [social] origin of the intelligentsia and the role it plays, and it will also consider the intelligentsia's great democratic traditions and its strong links to the worker and socialist movement.

The preparations for the plenum should include intensifying the work with the intelligentsia. It is expected that a special role in these preparations will be played by the party organizations and echelons through their organization of, among other things, open discussion meetings for various professional groups. The basis could be the recently propagated Theses for Discussion on the Eve of the 19th PZPR Central Committee Plenum. It can be deemed that the discussions are focusing on the intelligentsia's role in the socialist state, the factors stimulating the activism of discrete milieux, the conditions of economic development and the development of the intelligentsia's workshops. It can also be expected that they will create an atmosphere favorable to the plenum, arouse interest in its agenda and, above all, provide extensive information and suggestions for its materials and documents. The aim should be that all the different professional groups of the intelligentsia, and particularly their most eminent representatives, should insofar as possible take part in the meetings, with workforce representatives to be included in plant meetings. Members of central and local party echelons also should participate in the meetings.

The proposed program-organizational assumptions and theses of the report were basically approved at a session of the Commission. During a lively discussion lasting several hours, they were elaborated and enriched with many different assessments and proposals. The consensus was that the plenum should address itself to the entire intelligentsia. For the important role of the intelligentsia in resolving the problems of the socialist fatherland affects the scale of its patriotic obligations to the nation and the socialist state. Emphasis was placed on selecting as priorities the tasks integrating the intelligentsia groups for constructive work in behalf of the country. The primacy is to be given to what Poles have in common regardless of the differences existing among them. Furthermore, the moods of pessimism and apathy which domestic and foreign centers of antisocialist opposition and ideological subversion are trying to incite should be combatted. The party should strive to rally the intelligentsia round the paramount aims of the state, bearing in mind that ideological and political views and resentments are surmounted and eliminated very slowly. The line of the 9th Congress, the line of accord and socialist renewal, must be a guidepost for the party's activities, including its work with the intelligentsia.

It was declared that the plenum should make clear to all groups of the intelligentsia their highly important role in the country's life and the importance of its endeavors and creativeness, so needed by the country. It was said that greater emphasis should be placed on arguments in favor of the national pride and dignity of the Polish intelligentsia, as well as on propagating, particularly among the younger intelligentsia, contemporary models of mental attitudes linked to the patriotic, democratic and leftist traditions of the intelligentsia. At the same time, the great accomplishments so far of the humanist and technical intelligentsia should be more fully utilized in various domains of social life.

Summing up this aspect of the discussion, J. Czyrek pointed to, among other things, the significance of the problems of cultural and scientific development and scientific and technological progress, that is, problems that particularly concern the intelligentsia community. The coming plenum should take a comprehensive approach to these matters. Through our talks with the intelligentsia we wish to demonstrate the actual importance which the party attaches to the intelligentsia's role in the country's life. This also concerns, admittedly, overcoming the disorientation and mistrust still felt by part of the intelligentsia as well as the related reluctance to become involved in the country's socialist development. The party does not want to be a "judge" of the intelligentsia and will oppose any oversimplified view of its attitudes.

As the next item on its agenda the Commission considered the program-organizational assumptions of the Second All-Polish Party Conference on Ideology and Theory, as presented by Comrade Andrzej Czyz, deputy director of the Central Committee's Ideological Department. It is expected that important economic, political and ideological problems of socialism-building in Poland will be discussed during the conference. It is necessary to identify the problems that must be resolved in order to complete laying the foundations of socialism and achieve the transition to building the developed society of mature socialism.

As proposed, the conference [plenum] will evaluate the advancement of socialist transformations in Poland and the achievements of 40 years of the Polish People's Republic. In addition, it will analyze the particular historical conditions under which building the new system of society has occurred and continues to occur. Further, it will exchange views and formulate opinions on: perfecting the political system of the socialist state and the party's role as the central element of that system; the strategy of socio-economic development; transformations of the social structure and changes in the ideological superstructure. A measurable and direct consequence of the conference should be the evaluation, elaboration and complementation of the initial draft longrange program of the PZPR prior to its submission to the Central Committee and for party-wide discussion.

It is expected that the conference will mainly deal with matters of theory. In view of this, representatives of centers for social studies will predominate at that conference, which should contribute to reviving their interest in



problems of the development of socialist transformations in Poland and the strategic tasks of the PZPR.

The conference is tentatively scheduled to open in the first half of April of this year.

Following a brief exchange of comments, the Commission approved the plan of its activities for the first half of this year as presented by Comrade Wladyslaw Loranc, director of the Central Committee's Ideological Department and secretary of the Commission.

Those participating in the discussion were: Jerzy Lazarz, Stanislaw Wronski, Adam Krzysztowski, Tadeusz Jaroszewski, Wlodzimierz Sokorski, Wieslaw Bek, Tadeusz Walichnowski, Zenon Sulc, Julian Kraus, Antoni Kwiatkowski, Stanislaw Knap, Jozef Woloch, Witold Skrabalak, Franciszek Banko, Tadeusz Szacilo, Wladyslaw Fidzinski, Ryszard Kucharski, Norbert Michta and Zdzislaw Grzelak.

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POLAND

PZPR DAILY LAUDS BRITAIN'S EASTERN POLICY

AU151035 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Apr 85 p 6

[Article by Zbigniew Lesnikowski: "Great Britain--Harbingers of Realism"]

[Text] When on 15 March 1985--the day after Margaret Thatcher returned from Moscow--British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe publicly expressed his serious doubts about President Reagan's concept of "star wars," voices of disappointment and even of displeasure could be heard in Washington.

Assistant State Secretary R. Perle said that Sir Geoffrey Howe's statements was "tendentious," C. Price, U.S. ambassador in London, hastened to call on the Foreign Office for explanations, and REUTER commented to the effect that the Americans "are especially piqued by British reaction."

Fleet street journalists began to wonder why the Americans should be piqued in particular by British reaction, since the strategic defense initiative (SDI) had produced resistance and confusion in many West European capitals, including Paris and Bonn. They thought that perhaps the Americans were piqued because, since the time of Churchill, they had gotten used to the idea that the "special" British-American relations denote Albion's total submission.

In the past few years we have often heard that there is no submission on the part of Britain vis-a-vis its mighty ally. On the contrary, Britain has even criticized the United States. It is enough to recall London's outspoken opposition against Washington's attempts to impose export sanctions on the British firms that supplied equipment for the Siberian gas pipeline. It is also enough to recall Mrs Thatcher's severe censure of the U.S. invasion of Grenada and her criticism of the Americans for their financial support for the IRA and for their indifference in view of the dollar's domination of the European stock exchanges, which greatly harmed the standing of the pound sterling.

The issue of the SDI is a most recent example of British opposition. London takes the view that the enormous expenditure on the SDI research program and the resulting political implications may provoke new disputes and divisions in the Western alliance and may negatively affect disarmament talks. And although Great Britain does not deny that it is

necessary to promote research in space antimissile defense, as Mrs Thatcher said during her recent visit to the White House, it is much more interested in progress in control over armaments and disarmament, if only for the reason of its difficult socioeconomic situation. However, the remote but dangerous prospect of the SDI amounts to violating the frail balance of power, to removing the threat of nuclear war from U.S. territory, and making its outbreak in Europe more likely, let alone rendering the so-called British independent nuclear force useless.

London does not want this to occur and rejects such prospects, as intimated by Minister G. Howe, when on 15 March he spoke of the "dangerous question marks" surrounding Reagan's concept of the SDI and when he called this concept a useless "Maginot line of the 21st century."

None of these tensions and disputes between London and Washington implies a twilight of the traditional Anglo-Saxon partnership. The British-U.S. ties are still strong, especially since R. Reagan and M. Thatcher represent a similar ideological stance and the conservative ways of thinking, although their political temperaments are different. Although the personal contacts between these two leaders continue to be most cordial, these contacts will not be able to change the conditions under which tensions occur.

These conditions are now different from what they were during Mrs Thatcher's first term in office. British interests are now faring quite well within NATO and the Common Market and they may fare even better if British foreign policy continues to be active and realistic and in line with British aspirations. Viewing in this light London's criticism of Washington, we can see in it not so much an absence of subordination as the resolve to be more outspoken in defense of British interests, which do not always jibe with Washington's power interests.

London's tough line of confrontation vis-a-vis the USSR and the East European socialist countries has been a glaring example of the international activities disadvantageous to Great Britain. This line has been modeled on Reagan's policy. Not so long ago the "Iron Lady" was among the foremost ranks of the anticommunist crusade. When she was criticized for this not only by the opposition, but also by many politicians from her own party, she changed her policies at the beginning of her second term in office. In the spring of 1984 she visited Hungary and attended the funeral ceremonies in Moscow in connection with Y. Andropov's death. "It has become obvious for me that time has come to greatly revise our relations with the East," she said.

What she said was no longer lip service. The events of the past year seem to indicate that Prime Minister Thatcher has decided in earnest to lay the role of a typical ice breaker in demolishing the political ice that has accumulated between East and West in the past few years.

"Eastern policy" has recently taken up much time in the activities of Minister G. Howe, who is an industrious executor of Mrs Thatcher's political line. In the summer of 1984 he had talks with A. Gromyko in Moscow and in the fall of the same year he went to Bucharest and Sofia. He has planned visits to Warsaw, Berlin, and Prague in April of this year and expects A. Gromyko in London soon after these visits. A. Gromyko's visit was preceded by two important events in British-Soviet relations. The first was M. Gorbachev's visit to Britain last December and the second was his recent Moscow meeting with Mrs Thatcher for almost an hour, a meeting that she described as "very good and useful."

The very chronology of these events is very significant, let alone the greatly relaxed tone of statements, which indicates that London has not only "made good its omissions," but has also found itself in the vanguard of those who want a dialogue with the socialist countries to take place.

This is not just an aspiration to play a leading role in shaping up the relations between Western Europe and the East European socialist countries. In this regard Great Britain has opportunities for greatly outstripping the FRG and France, which aspired to such a role during the peak period of detente and which have been left behind during Kohl's and Mitterrand's rule. London's present "Eastern policy" is also based on other external and internal motives. The considerations of political tactics go hand in hand with the conviction that the severe climate of Washington-Moscow relations does not have to be automatically introduced into other countries of the two blocs. Attempts to devise a strategy that can safeguard Britain's own interests in the CEMA markets also go hand in hand with internal requirements--with the wish to neutralize the antinuclear moods in Britain, which have been caused by the presence of U.S. "Euromissiles," and to smother the criticism on the part of the opposition, which is becoming increasingly stronger.

Regardless of which of the aforementioned elements influences the stance of the conservative government and to what extent, its new "Eastern policy" displays both determination and a distinct increase in realism that is present in the evaluation of the world's complicated situation. The immediate future should prove whether this is a permanent phenomenon.

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POLAND

**PZPR ACTIVITIES CALENDAR: 4-18 FEBRUARY 1985**

**Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 5, 22 Feb 85 p 21**

**[Unsigned article: "Party Chronicle, 4-18 February 1985"]**

**[Text] Sessions of the Politburo of the Central Committee**

**5 February:**

**--Adopted a resolution concerning [the publication of] an edition of the writings of Wladyslaw Gomulka in connection with his 80th birth anniversary;**

**--Considered the course of the reports campaign within the PZPR;**

**--Was informed of the state of the preparations for the World Congress of Intellectuals in the Defense of a Peaceful World Future to be held in Warsaw.**

**Conferences and Meetings**

**4 February:**

**The Central Committee's Commission for Science and Education, chaired by Tadeusz Porebski, Politburo member and Central Committee member, discussed the role and tasks of the Polish intelligentsia. Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski took part in the discussion.**

**A conference of Central Committee department directors discussed the tasks ensuing from the personnel review within the party apparatus, the state administration and state and socialized organizational units. The conference was chaired by Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary.**

**A delegation of the GDR Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Food Economy headed by Minister Bruno Lietz was received by Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek.**

**5 February:**

**On the eve of the 80th anniversary of the birth of Wladyslaw Gomulka bouquets and wreaths were placed on his grave in the Avenue of the Honored Dead, Powazki**

Cemetery. The ceremony was attended by the following members of the Politburo and Secretariat of the PZPR: Jozef Czyrek, Tadeusz Porebski and Henryk Bednarski.

Politburo Member Jozef Czyrek, Central Committee secretary, received Rene Rodriguez Cruz, chairman of the Cuban Institute for Friendship With Nations.

7 February:

First Central Committee Secretary Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski received Berthold Beltz, chairman of the A. Krupp Foundation Supervisory Board.

Politburo Member Jozef Czyrek, Central Committee Secretary and Vice Chairman of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] National Council, delivered an address at the fifth meeting of the representatives of national fronts in Warsaw.

8 February:

First Secretary of the Central Committee Wojciech Jaruzelski met with the delegations participating in the fifth meeting of representatives of the national fronts and organizations from 18 socialist and friendly countries, held on 6-8 February in Warsaw.

10 February:

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers Wojciech Jaruzelski departed for an official visit to India. The premier was accompanied by the Politburo members Jozef Czyrek and Stefan Olszowski as well as by the government members Janusz Obodowski, Janusz Maciejewicz, Czeslaw Piotrowski and Michal Janiszewski.

Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon took part in a scientific conference on the processes of institutionalization in international relations.

13 February:

Politburo member Kazimierz Barcikowski, Central Committee secretary, met with young councilmen in the Parliament Building so as to discuss, at the beginning of the new electoral term, the optimal ways in which the [people's] councils can accomplish their tasks. Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon attended the meeting.

14 February:

The Central Committee's Commission for Law and Legality considered the activities of the Supreme Administrative Court and selected aspects of criminal policy. The deliberations were chaired by Deputy Politburo Member Army Gen Czeslaw Kiszczak, Minister of Internal Affairs. They also were attended by Deputy Politburo Member

Army Gen Florian Sawicki, Minister of National Defense, and Director of the Central Committee's Administrative Department Janusz Kubasiewicz.

A two-day writers' conference dealing with the literature of People's Poland was opened. The deliberations are chaired by Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon, with the participation of Deputy Politburo Member Jan Glowczyk, Central Committee secretary.

Politburo Member Tadeusz Czechowicz, chairman of the Central Committee's Youth Commission, met with the leadership of the ZSP [Association of Polish Students] in connection with the coming congress of that organization.

Under the chairmanship of Politburo Candidate Member Marian Orzechowski, the working team for implementing the "Program for Education in History" held a session.

The two-day national conference of the first secretaries of POP's [branch party organizations] at ministerial scientific research institutes was ended. The deliberations were attended by: Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski and Director of the Central Committee's Department of Science and Education Bronislaw Ratus.

15 February:

Following the completion of his official visit to the Republic of India, the Chairman of the PRL's Council of Ministers Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski returned to Warsaw together with his entourage.

Among the Party Echelons and Organizations

6 February:

Politburo Member Marian Wozniak, first secretary of the Warsaw Province PZPR Committee, met with the party aktiv of Warsaw theatres.

Politburo Member Albin Siwak took part in a meeting at Zgorzelec with representatives of the workforces of mines, the Turow Electric Power Plant and other work establishments.

Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski participated in the inaugural opening of the Wladyslaw Gomulka Museum in Krosno.

7 February:

Politburo Member Stanislaw Kalkus took part in the Second Congress of the Association of Construction Cooperatives in Poznan.

8 February:

Politburo Member Marian Wozniak, first secretary of the Warsaw Province PZPR Committee, examined the performance of party echelons and the production problems and living conditions of the area of Grodzisk Mazowiecki and Blonie.



Politburo Member Jerzy Romaniuk took part in the ceremonies commemorating the revolutionary events of 1905 in Sosnowiec.

In Legnica was held a joint commemorative plenary session of the province's political parties, the PRON Province Council, and the Province People's Council on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the city's liberation. Politburo Deputy Member Marian Orzechowski took part in the ceremony.

9 February:

Politburo Member Marian Wozniak, first secretary of the Warsaw Province PZPR Committee, met with journalists from the capitals of the socialist countries being hosted in Warsaw on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of liberation of the nation's capital.

11 February:

Politburo Member Tadeusz Porebski, Central Committee secretary, took part in the PZPR Reports Conference at the Province Office of Internal Affairs in Wroclaw.

Politburo Member Albin Siwak took part in a meeting of employees of the POLLENA-URODA Cosmetics Factory and the POLLENA-AROMA Olfactory Synthetics Factory in Warsaw.

The agenda of the coming 19th Central Committee Plenum was discussed at a meeting of representatives of the creative milieu at the Krakow party committee, attended by Witold Nawrocki, head of the Central Committee's Culture Department.

Politburo Candidate Member Marian Orzechowski took part in ceremonies commemorating the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Lublin.

12 February:

The Suwalki Province PZPR Committee discussed the materials for the province reports-program conference.

14 February:

The Sieradz Province PZPR Committee discussed the tasks of the continued implementation of the resolution of the 9th Congress and the province reports-elections conference.

Politburo Member Vice Premier Zbigniew Messmer took part in the province congress of the PTE [Polish Economic Society] in Katowice.

Politburo Candidate Member Stanislaw Bejger, first secretary of the Gdansk Province PZPR Committee, met with participants in the session of the Club of Marine Publicists, SD [Democratic Party] of the Polish People's Republic.

15 February:

Politburo Candidate Member Marian Orzechowski, rector of the Academy of Social Sciences, delivered the address, "The Nation, National Awareness and the State," at the Popular University of the PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences] in Szczecin and met with the personnel of the social science institutes of Szczecin higher schools.

Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek decorated the flag of the Gmina SCh [Peasant Selfhelp] Cooperative in Sosnicowice and met in Tychy with the representatives of the dairy cooperatives of Katowice Province.

16 February:

The Gdansk Province PZPR Committee discussed the party's activities in strengthening people's councils and tenant self-governments. The deliberations were chaired by Politburo Candidate Member Stanislaw Bejger, [first] secretary of the Gdansk Province party committee. Edward Szymanski, director of the Central Committee's Office for Parliamentary Affairs, took part in the deliberations.

Politburo Member Tadeusz Gzechowicz, first secretary of the PZPR Committee, met with Alfred Miódowicz, chairman of the OPZZ [National Council of Trade Unions], to discuss problems of working people in the Lodz community.

#### Interparty Cooperation

6 February:

Politburo Member Kazimierz Barcikowski, Central Committee secretary, headed the PZPR Delegation to the 25th Congress of the French Communist Party, which commenced its deliberations at Saint Quen near Paris.

At the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, a study delegation from the Sociooccupational and Organizational departments of the PZPR Central Committee sojourned in Moscow. It was headed by Stanislaw Gabrielski, director of the PZPR Central Committee's Sociooccupational Department. The members of the delegation met with the party leadership of mass organizations in the USSR.

Between 13 and 15 February, on the invitation of the SPJD Central Committee, Politburo Member Tadeusz Porebski, Central Committee secretary, sojourned in the GDR. He was accompanied by Antoni Gorny, a department head at the Central Committee, and Michal Niedwiedz, Pila Province PZPR secretary.

Tadeusz Porebski was received by the General Secretary of the SPJD Central Committee Erich Honecker.

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6 May 1985

## POLAND

## PZPR DAILY CITES LA REPUBBLICA ON POLAND, CHILE

AU151935 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Apr 85 p 5

[Commentary signed "WUZ": "Who Is Reformable and What?"]

[Text] Is this system reformable? We hear this question all the time, and it refers to the socialist system. Dozens of philosophers who at one time considered themselves as representatives of Marxist thought and in many cases were known as very dogmatic interpreters of this thought continue now to study the socialist system from all its sides and to present pessimistic diagnoses about it. At the same time, they are quite ready to leave capitalism alone because, in their view, it is a sound system.

It is worth confronting the above philosophy with what the Italian newspaper LA REPUBBLICA, breaking ranks with the rest of the bourgeois press in a fairly big way, has to say about the anticommunist propaganda's favorite pastime of comparing Poland to Chile. LA REPUBBLICA questions this comparison and notes that the confrontation of these two countries situated in the opposing systems of socialism and capitalism will clearly show which system is unreformable.

This is what LA REPUBBLICA writes about socialist Poland:

"When Father Popieluszko was tortured to death in a barbarous manner, the entire world was shocked by this horror, and people were right in demanding that the Jaruzelski government mete out justice. It did mete out justice. Those who committed the crime directly--communists in a communist system--were apprehended, tried, and convicted by a court which, as all observers agreed, acted in line with the laws and the truth...."

This is what LA REPUBBLICA writes about political reality in capitalist Chile:

"For years this country has been a kingdom of fascist violence, total lawlessness, repression, and death. All this has been the country's daily bread for years. The most recent crime is one of the greatest bestialities. Seven opposition leaders have been abducted. Three of them were murdered in a barbarous manner and four were released after terrible tortures. At the same time three other persons--three young people--were murdered

by the police and not by an isolated group of fanatics. These acts describe the atmosphere of the country and the regime that was set up in it and the man who rules this regime...."

Having in mind the above events, LA REPUBBLICA compares the Western, especially Reagan's, noise made about the situation in Poland with the silence about or perhaps outright approval of whatever takes place in Chile. I have cited LA REPUBBLICA, although I doubt whether President Reagan's stance on socialist Poland and [passage indistinct].

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END